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THE AGE WE LIVE IN

A HISTORY OF THE XIX CENTURY

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GENERAL LORD WOLSELEY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

WILLIAM MACKENZIE, LONDON, EDINBURGH & GLASGOW.

THE

AGE WE LIVE IN:

A HISTORY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

FROM THE PEACE OF 1815 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

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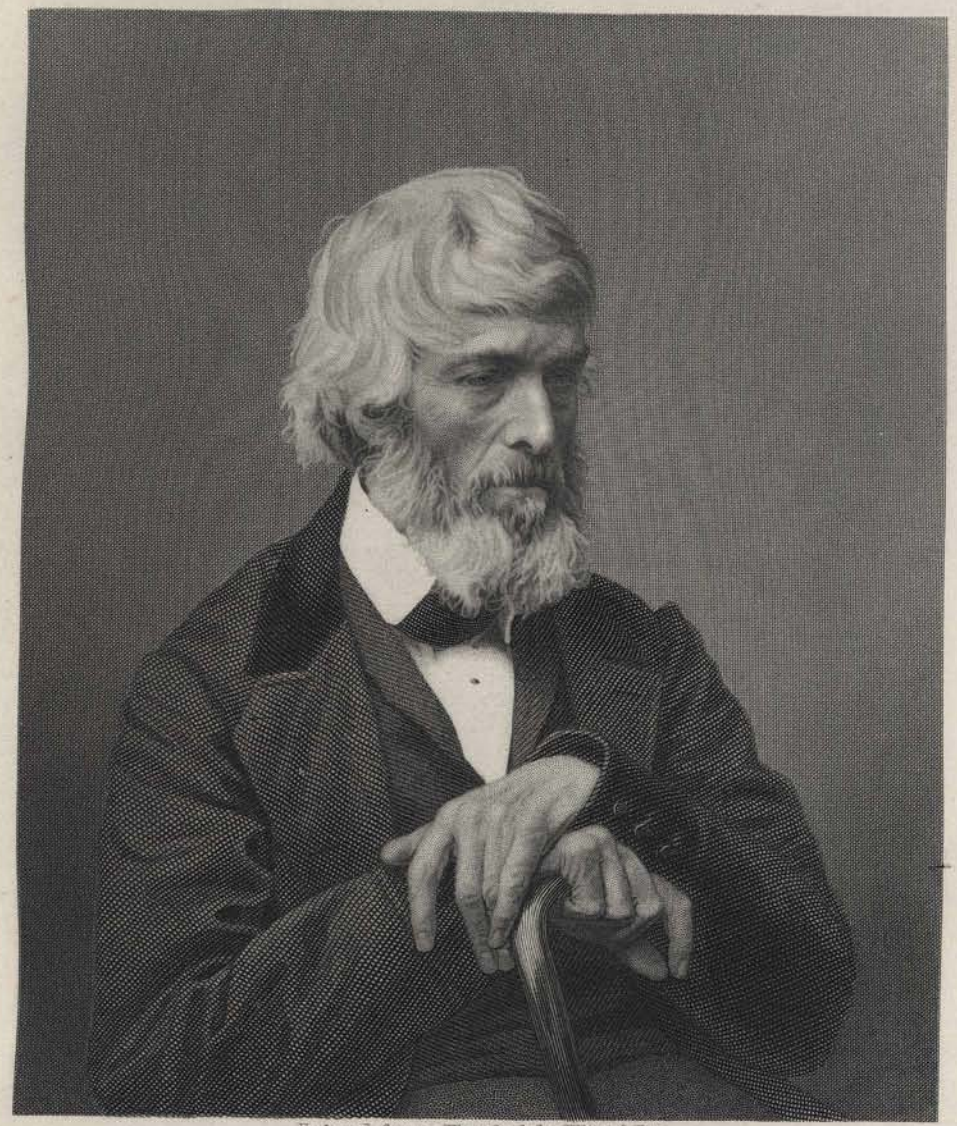

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the expiry of the Act in 1828 they sprang up more vigorous than ever. Besides the Irish organization of 1600 Lodges, with 175,000 members, the Orangemen in Great Britain numbered 140,000, no fewer than 50,000 of whom were in London. At first they all belonged to the lower classes, but they now included in their ranks men of the highest position—peers and members of Parliament, and great numbers of landed proprietors.

When the Orange Lodges were re-established in 1828 the Duke of Cumberland was appointed Grand Master, with authority to veto any of their proceedings of which he might disapprove, and to issue orders, which every Orangeman was bound to obey; and he set about extending the organization with characteristic energy and zeal. He gave a commission under the great seal of the society, in the most formal manner, to the 'trusty, well-beloved, and right-worshipful brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Fairman,' whom his Royal Highness selected 'from a knowledge of his experience and a confidence in his integrity,' as a fitting agent to establish Orange Lodges throughout Great Britain. The Colonel made two extensive tours in England and Scotland, and succeeded in inducing a great number of the Tory party to 'rally round the throne and the church,' as he expressed it. Lodges were established in all the larger towns and populous districts of the country. They were industriously extended also to the colonies and dependencies of the British empire. There were no fewer than 12,000 Orangemen in Canada, and Lodges were even formed at Malta, Gibraltar, Corfu, New South Wales, Bermuda, and Van Diemen's Land.

The emancipation of the Roman Catholics seems to have driven the leaders of the Orangemen frantic; and they actually persuaded themselves that the Duke of Wellington intended to usurp the Crown on the death of George IV., who was at that time in feeble health, and evidently drawing near his end. A letter from Colonel Fairman to the Duke of Cumberland written at this period says, 'Should an indisposition which has agitated the whole country for a fortnight take a favourable turn—should the Almighty in His mercy give ear unto the supplications that to His heavenly throne are offered up daily to prolong the existence of one deservedly dear to the nation at large—a divulgement I have expressed a willingness to furnish would be deprived of no small portion of its value. Even in this case, an event for the consummation of which, in common with all good subjects, I obtest the Deity, it might be as well your Royal Highness should be put in possession of the rash design in embryo, the better to enable you to devise measures for its frustration; at any rate, you would not then be taken by surprise, as the nation was last year, but might have an opportunity of rallying your forces and of organizing your plans for the defeat of such machinations as might be hostile to your paramount claims. Hence, should the experiment be made and its expediency established, your Royal Highness would be in a situation to contend for the exercise, in your own person, of that office at which the wild ambition of another may prompt him to aspire.' In another letter Fairman refers to the Duke of Wellington as having been 'weak enough to ape the coarseness of Cromwell. His seizure of the diadem, with his planting it upon his brow, was a precocious sort of self-inauguration,' During the last illness of George IV. Fairman addressed a letter to the *Morning Herald*, in which he says, 'Some whisperings have gone abroad that in the event of the demise of the Crown a regency would probably be established for reasons which occasioned the removal of the next in succession from the office of High Admiral. That a maritime Government might not prove consonant to the views of a military chieftain of the most unbounded ambition may admit of easy belief; and as the second heir presumptive is not alone a female but a minor, in addition to the argument which might be applied

to the present, that in the ordinary course of nature it was not to be expected that his reign could be of long duration in these disjointed times, it is by no means unlikely a vicarious form of Government might be attempted. The effort would be a bold one, but after the measures we have seen, what new violations would surprise us? Besides, the popular plea of economy and expedience might be urged as the pretext, while aggrandizement and usurpation might be the latent motive.'

These letters throw great light on the objects and intrigues of the Orange leaders at this period. Incredible as it may now appear, they evidently believed that the Duke of Wellington might either usurp the Crown or seize the Regency on the death of George IV.; and in order to prevent this step they proposed that the Duke of Clarence should be set aside on the plea of insanity, and the Princess Victoria because she was a woman and a minor, and that the Duke of Cumberland should be raised to the throne. It was proved beyond the possibility of denial or doubt that Colonel Fairman was in the confidence of the leaders of the Orangemen, and was in constant confidential communication with them respecting their plans and proceedings. In April, 1832, he was unanimously elected to the important office of Deputy Grand Secretary on the nomination of the Duke of Cumberland himself, seconded by Lord Kenyon and the Duke of Gordon; and two months later he was sent out on his mission with full powers to establish Lodges wherever he could, and by whatever means he thought proper. His correspondence with the Marquis of Londonderry, the Duke of Gordon, Lord Kenyon, and other Orange leaders shows their confidence in him, and their full knowledge and approval of his designs. Writing to Lord Londonderry, he speaks of the 'necessity for our laying aside that non-resistance, that passive obedience, which has hitherto been religiously enforced to our own discomfiture.' He says, 'We have the military with us as far as they are at liberty to avow their principles and sentiments,' and he earnestly recommends the establishment of Orange Lodges among the pitmen on the estates of the Marquis. To the Duke of Gordon he wrote, following up what he had said to Lord Londonderry, about 'a rapid augmentation of our physical force'—'We shall be assuming, I think, such an attitude of boldness as will strike the foe with awe; but we inculcate the doctrine of passive obedience and of non-resistance too religiously by far.' In entire harmony with these statements, an Orangeman of the name of Haywood asserted that Fairman had sounded the friends of the cause, at Sheffield and other places, on their willingness to support the pretensions of the Duke of Cumberland to the Crown, if King William should be deposed for his assent to the Reform Bill.

Their number, their organization, and the rank and power of their leaders rendered the Orangemen a very formidable body, and they made their influence felt in every part of the country. The Bishop of Salisbury was their Lord Prelate and Grand Chaplain of the Order, and they had twelve or thirteen clergymen, who acted as Deputy Grand Chaplains and Masters of Lodges. Their language and their actions alike were menacing to the public peace and the welfare of the country. Lord Kenyon, their Deputy Grand Master, expressed his hope of 'the arrival of a day of reckoning,' when certain 'hell-hounds' would 'be called on to pay the full penalty of their cold-blooded tergiversations.' They avowedly contemplated the employment of physical force to repeal the Reform Bill, the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act, and other measures of a similar kind. Any member who voted for a Liberal candidate was at once expelled. Roman Catholic workmen were driven out by their Orange fellow-labourers, with whom they 'had before lived and worked in peace and harmony.' The inducement was held out to clergymen to join the association, that their doing so might lead to patronage.

Threats were held out to pensioners, disbanded soldiers, and half-pay officers of the army and navy, and they were told that it was their 'bounden duty, in a crisis of danger like the present, to enlist under the banner of a loyal association, instead of repairing to factious unions, no less hostile to sound policy than to true religion, at the imminent risk of incurring a just forfeiture of their hard-earned remunerations, of which a scrupulous Government would not hesitate to deprive them. Of this intelligible hint the half-pay of the army and navy might do well to profit, in a prospective sense.'

Some information respecting the nature and object of these Orange Lodges had come to the knowledge of Mr. Hume, and other members of the House of Commons; and a few weeks before the downfall of the Peel Administration they insisted on receiving from the Ministers a specific answer respecting the addresses which had been presented to the king from Orange Lodges applauding the change of Government—whether they had, as reported, been 'graciously received' by His Majesty, while addresses from Whigs were merely acknowledged, without the addition of a gracious reception; and whether these Lodges were legal or illegal. Goulbourn, the Home Secretary, who was an Orangeman when he was Chief Secretary for Ireland, stated in reply that the answers to these addresses were intended merely as an acknowledgment of their receipt, and not as any recognition of the legality of the society from which they proceeded. It thus appeared that the king had been receiving, and acknowledging with studied graciousness, addresses from societies which were undoubtedly illegal, and in which the question of his deposition from the throne had been favourably considered.

The first step taken was to move for the production of the addresses to the king from Orange Lodges, and the answers which had been returned to them, which was granted. It was next proposed by Mr. Finn, the member for Kilkenny, that 'a select committee be appointed to inquire into the nature, character, extent, and tendency of Orange Lodges, Associations, or Societies in Ireland, and to report their opinion thereunto to the House.' Finn called attention to the mischief such societies were working in Ireland, and stated that Orange juries refused to convict Orange prisoners even on the clearest evidence; and the misconduct of one jury in the obstruction of justice was so flagrant that the Chief Justice Bushe felt constrained to say, 'That is your verdict, gentlemen of the jury; thank God it is not mine.' The Orangemen themselves saw that it was impossible to resist inquiry, and they resolved to adopt the bold and judicious course of supporting the motion for inquiry. Mr. Henry Maxwell, member for Cavan, the Grand Secretary, seconded Mr. Finn's proposal, and a committee was accordingly appointed. Mr. Wilson Patten, the Conservative member for North Lancashire (now Lord Winmarleigh), was made chairman, and the Committee was occupied for several months in receiving evidence. They reported this evidence on three separate occasions to the House. It transpired that Orange Lodges in considerable numbers had been formed in the army; and before the third report of the Committee was presented Mr. Hume thought it necessary to expose this illegal and most dangerous practice, in order that no time might be lost in suppressing it. On the 4th of August, 1835, he moved a series of eleven resolutions declaratory of the existence of numerous Orange Lodges in Ireland; of their character, objects, and mode of procedure; of the illegality of such an organization in the army, in direct contravention of the general orders issued by the Commander-in-chief in 1822 and 1829, strongly reprobating the holding of Orange Lodges in any regiment as 'fraught with danger to the discipline of the army, as contrary to order and to the rules of the service, and warning the soldiers that a disregard of this

caution will subject offending parties to trial and punishment for disobedience of orders.' Mr. Hume also moved that the resolutions and the evidence taken before the Committee should be laid before His Majesty, and that the king's attention should likewise be called to the fact that the Duke of Cumberland, a Field-Marshal in the British service, had signed warrants for constituting Orange Lodges in the army.

Colonel Perceval, member for the county of Sligo, Grand Treasurer of the Grand Lodge, and other friends of the Duke, asserted that His Royal Highness had signed the warrants referred to in blank, and that he was ignorant of the purposes for which they were used. But unfortunately for the truth of this assertion, the Select Committee found that Lord Kenyon had written to Colonel Fairman, 'His Royal Highness promises being in England a fortnight before Parliament assembles. To him privately you had better address yourself about your military proposition, which to me appears very judicious.' In another letter the Deputy Grand Master says, 'The statement you made to me before, and respecting which I have now before me particulars from Portsmouth, should be referred to His Royal Highness as military matters of great delicacy. At the same time private information, I submit, should be made to the military correspondents, letting them know how highly we esteem them as brethren.' In a third letter Lord Kenyon says, 'If you hear anything further from the military district, let His Royal Highness know all particulars fit to be communicated.' Further, the records of the Lodge meetings, at which the Duke of Cumberland presided, contained direct evidence of the complicity of His Royal Highness in the illegal proceedings referred to. At these meetings new warrants, some of which were actually styled 'military warrants,' were granted to soldiers present. 'The military Lodges were entered in the books noticed by the circular-reports of the meetings where the Duke of Cumberland presided; and the laws and ordinances containing provisions for attracting soldiers and sailors by a remission of fees are declared to have been inspected by the Duke, and handed over to Lord Kenyon for final supervision.' It is not wonderful that in these circumstances the Committee reported, 'That they find it most difficult to reconcile statements in evidence before them with ignorance of these proceedings on the part of Lord Kenyon and by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.'

Lord John Russell, as the organ of the Government, expressed his willingness to concur in the resolutions respecting the constitution of Orange Societies, and the introduction of these societies into the army; but he objected to the mention of the name of a member of the royal family, without giving him an opportunity to make his defence or explanation. He therefore moved that the debate should be adjourned for a week. He at the same time expressed his surprise, that when the Duke of Cumberland, Lord Kenyon, and other distinguished individuals, saw that the whole discipline of the army might be subverted under colour of their high authority, they should not at once have ceased to be members of such an association.

The discussion was resumed on the 11th of August. In the interval the Duke of Cumberland wrote and published a letter to the Chairman of the Committee, in which he positively denied having ever issued warrants to soldiers, or known of such being issued; asserted that he had refused to send out military warrants, on the ground that it was contrary to the orders and regulations of the Horse-Guards; and intimated that all warrants inconsistent with these orders should be annulled. This letter was not regarded as satisfactory, and no credit was given to the Duke's denial. Lord John intimated plainly that, if his Royal Highness had merely signed blank warrants that had been filled up in a manner of which he had expressed his disapproval, he ought to have withdrawn

from an association which, according to his own account, had so grossly abused his confidence. Mr. Hume's last resolution, which called the attention of the king to the conduct of his royal brother in this matter, was therefore adopted, with the omission of the statement that the warrants signed by the Duke were designed for the establishment of Orange Lodges in the army. His Majesty's reply to the address assured the House that the utmost vigilance and vigour would be put forth to suppress political societies in the army, and a circular was issued by the Commander-in-Chief ordering that any officer or soldier who should continue a member of an Orange Lodge should be tried by court-martial.

In the course of their investigations the Select Committee called on Colonel Fairman to produce a book which was alleged to contain copies of the correspondence between him and other officers of the society, respecting the establishment of Orange Lodges in certain regiments at Gibraltar and among the troops in the Ionian islands. He refused to comply with this order, on the ground that the book contained private documents. His refusal was reported to the House of Commons (August 19), and he was called before it and interrogated; but repeated his refusal, though admonished by the Speaker that he must obey the orders of the House. Next day, as he was still contumacious, the House declared that he had been guilty of a breach of privilege, and ordered that he should be committed to Newgate; but by this time the Colonel had disappeared. Some members proposed that the Speaker should issue his warrant to search Fairman's house for the book, as was done in the case of the South-Sea Directors; but the majority were unwilling to follow such a precedent, or to exercise a power which had so much odium attached to it, and it was thought expedient not to issue the order.

The public, however, were still unsatisfied; and a number of the Radical members of the House were bent on carrying further their attack on the Duke of Cumberland and other leaders of the Orange party. They had satisfied themselves that the law under which the Dorsetshire labourers had been convicted in 1834* had been violated by the Orangemen, and they made arrangements to bring the Duke, Lord Kenyon, the Bishop of Salisbury, Colonel Fairman, and others, before the Central Criminal Court. Eminent counsel were retained for the prosecution. The indictments were actually drawn, when Haywood, the witness on whose evidence they mainly relied to obtain a conviction, suddenly died, and the case was consequently dropped.

The Select Committee had merely inquired into the character and extent of the Orange Lodges in Ireland and the army; but another Committee was now appointed, on the motion of Mr. Hume, to carry the investigation into Great Britain and the Colonies. The result of this inquiry was the reverse of creditable to the Orangemen. Their hot-headed, perverse leaders, however, would take no warning, but persisted in their imprudent and exasperating proceedings. The Duke of Cumberland himself set at nought the authority of

* The Dorsetshire labourers were six poor men who had taken part in forming an agricultural Union. They were tried at Dorchester under an obsolete statute of George III., enacted after the Mutiny at the Nore, which made the administering of illegal oaths punishable by transportation. These men were quite ignorant of the existence of such a law, and were not aware that they had been guilty of any offence. They were, notwithstanding, found guilty, and sentenced to seven years' transportation. They were hurried out of the country, and despatched at once to Australia, in order to forestal the public sympathy and clamour which it was foreseen a sentence so severe and unjust was certain to excite. Petitions, complaining of the sentence, were poured in from various quarters of the country. A monster meeting of between 20,000 and 30,000 working men was held in Copenhagen Fields, London, to remonstrate against it. The meeting excited great alarm in the metropolis, but successful precautions were taken by Lord Melbourne, in conjunction with the Duke of Wellington, to preserve the public peace. Public opinion ran so strongly in favour of the poor, ignorant, ill-used labourers, that a free pardon was sent out to them in Van Diemen's Land, and they were brought back to England in 1837.

the House of Commons, and persisted in retaining his position as Grand Master. Exasperated by this foolish and intemperate behaviour, the member for Kilkenny renewed his attack on the Duke on the 12th of February, 1836, and was seconded by Mr. Hume, who criticised the conduct of his Royal Highness with great severity. The debate was adjourned to the 23rd, and on that night Hume, after a full and minute exposure of the whole Orange conspiracy, proposed an address to the king, requesting him to cause the dismissal from office of every judge, privy-councillor, lord-lieutenant, magistrate, militia officer, inspector, or constable who, after the lapse of one month, should retain connection with any Orange or Ribbon Lodge, or any other political club. The motion was much too strong and sweeping to commend itself either to the House or the country, and was superseded by a motion of Lord John Russell for an address to the king, praying that His Majesty would take such measures as he might deem 'advisable for the effectual discouragement of Orange Lodges, and generally of all political societies excluding persons of a different religious faith, using signs and symbols, and acting by affiliated branches.' Greville, who is not usually complimentary to the Whig Ministry, speaks in highly eulogistic terms of the temperate and conciliatory speech of the leader of the House.

'Lord John Russell,' he says, 'immortalized himself on Tuesday night. After a speech from Hume of three hours, in which he produced a variety of the most inconceivable letters from Kenyon, Wynford, Londonderry, and other Orangemen, but made the most miserable hash of his whole case, and instead of working up his ample materials with dexterity and effect, stupidly blundering and wasting them all—after this speech Lord John Russell rose, and in a speech far surpassing his usual form—dignified, temperate, and judicious—moved a resolution of a moderate inoffensive character. The speech actually drew tears from the Orangemen, enthusiastic approbation from Stanley, a colder approval from Peel, and the universal assent of the House. It was a night of harmony; the Orangemen behaved very well, and declared that after this speech they would abandon their association; they only objected to the Orange Lodges being mentioned by name, and urged that the resolution should be only general in expression, and in that Stanley and Peel supported them. Lord John declined, and properly; the others would have done better to advise the Orangemen not to cavil at this, but to swallow the whole pill handsomely, and not mar the effect of their really meritorious conduct by making any trivial difficulties. Peel's and Stanley's speeches were characteristic—the latter with a generous enthusiasm of praise and congratulation to his old friend, which evinced feeling and was sincere; Peel, colder in his expressions, and showing a great interest in the Orangemen, for the purpose evidently of conciliating them towards himself, and even incurring some risk of disturbing the general harmony by his warmth and sympathy towards them, and I have no doubt that he is as glad as any man on the dissolution of the confederacy.'

There can be no doubt that Russell on this occasion conferred a great and permanent benefit upon the country. The royal reply to the address of the House expressed his Majesty's firm resolution to discourage all such societies throughout his dominions. A copy of it was transmitted by the Home Secretary to the Duke of Cumberland, who feeling that he could no longer set at defiance the decision of the Commons, stated in answer, that before the last discussion in the House of Commons he had recommended the dissolution of Orange Societies in Ireland, and that he would now give orders that they should be broken up in every other part of the British dominions. A great danger to the peace and safety of the empire was thus happily averted.

The remaining business of the session was not of any material importance. The

Marquis of Chandos, the leader of the agricultural interest, who declined office in the Peel Ministry because the repeal of the malt tax was not included in the Tamworth Manifesto, proposed, on the 25th of May, that an address should be presented to the king, referring to the frequency with which agricultural distress had been mentioned in different royal speeches at the opening of several successive sessions, and urging that the attention of His Majesty's Government should be directed to the subject 'with a view to the immediate removal of some portion of the burdens to which the land is subject through the pressure of general and local taxation.' In support of his motion the Marquis referred to the heaviness of the county rates, the expenses of assize prosecutions, and of maintaining prisoners in gaols; the cost of building and repairing bridges and mending roads by statute labour; and other burdens of a similar class, which have been often since pleaded by 'the farmer's friends' down to the present time. An amendment was moved by Lord John Russell, and was supported by Sir Robert Peel on the ground that if the resolution were adopted it would have the effect of exciting hopes which, consistently with public credit, could not be fulfilled. The amendment was carried by a majority of 211 to 150. Another remedy for the agricultural distress was proposed by Mr. Cayley, the Whig member for the North Riding of Yorkshire, recommending an alteration of the currency; but though supported by O'Connell, as well as by the agricultural representatives, it was negatived by a majority of 216 to 126.

The debate on the motion of the Marquis of Chandos proved fatal to William Cobbett, who, though seventy-three years of age and labouring under severe illness, persisted in addressing the House in favour of a motion for the repeal of the malt tax, and when almost completely prostrated, sat up to a late hour in order to give his vote on the motion respecting agricultural distress. He lingered on for three weeks in a state of great weakness and suffering, and died on the 18th of June.

The career of William Cobbett was very remarkable, both as regards his personal qualities and his public action. The son of a Surrey farmer, with nothing more than the scanty education of his class at that time, he became in succession an attorney's clerk, a private soldier, a sergeant-major, a political writer, a farmer, and a member of Parliament. He was undoubtedly possessed of eminent ability; but his glaring inconsistencies greatly marred his influence for good. When he started on his career as a journalist he stoutly advocated Tory principles. Some offence given him by the party in power transformed him into an extreme Radical. His writings at one time exercised a powerful influence on the working classes of the community, and greatly alarmed the aristocracy and the Government. He was repeatedly prosecuted, and fined and imprisoned; but with indomitable perseverance he held on his course, vehemently assailing the institutions and the ministers that had provoked his indignation. To him belongs the credit of being the first to diffuse political knowledge among the working classes of England, and to make the Legislature and the Government feel the influence of periodical literature. Cobbett had no claim to high or indeed fixed principle of any kind; his natural temper was imperious and overbearing; his opinions showed a strange mixture of illiberality and Radicalism, and his language was not unfrequently violent and abusive. But his writings, though sometimes coarse, were characterized by remarkable vigour, common sense, shrewdness, and humour, and their style was clear, terse, and idiomatic. As Coleridge remarked, he lifted the latch of every cottage door, and thundered with no runaway knock at the palace gate. He was at one time a power in the country; but his Parliamentary career was a failure. His habits were not suited to the late hours of the House of Commons, and his crude notions on

financial and indeed on many political questions were entirely at variance with those of both parties in the Legislature. His demise therefore made no perceptible blank in public life.

On the 12th of June, Mr. Robinson, member for Worcester, brought the whole subject of taxation under the notice of the House, and moved 'that it is expedient to refer the general taxation of the country to a select committee, with a view to a repeal or reduction of such imposts as injuriously affect the interests of agriculture, trade, manufactures, or navigation, or those which may be found to press with unequal severity upon any portion of the community, especially on the working and productive classes; and, further, to consider the propriety of substituting, if necessary, other taxes less objectionable in their operation, so as to simplify and economize the enormous cost of collection, and lighten the pressure by a more just and equitable distribution of the public burdens.' Mr. Robinson was unfortunately before his day. Neither the House nor the country were at that time prepared to act upon the principles which he laid down, and enforced by cogent arguments and telling examples. It was reserved for Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone to carry out fully the policy with which the nation was indoctrinated by Richard Cobden and John Bright. Mr. Bulwer, one of the members for Marylebone, made a commencement of another important reform by a motion for the repeal of the stamp duty on newspapers, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer acknowledged could not be defended upon grounds either of moral policy or of sound political doctrine, but resisted exclusively because the state of the revenue did not allow him to give it up.

The protracted session was at length brought to a close on the 10th of September.

The House of Lords had not risen in public estimation by the course which, at the instigation of Lyndhurst, it had followed in regard to the reform of the municipal orporations and the commutation of tithes in Ireland. An idea began to prevail that it was impossible for the two Houses of Parliament to co-operate harmoniously without an organic change in the constitution of the Upper House. The press teemed with pamphlets, leading articles, reviews, and reports of speeches advocating the necessity of Peerage reform, and proposing schemes for bringing the Peers and the Commons into harmony. The most moderate of these, proposed by Roebuck, was that the veto exercised by the Lords should be taken away, and that a suspensive power, to be exercised only once on each measure in the same session, should be allowed them instead of it. There was a sort of vague apprehension abroad that the collision between the Lords and the Commons during the past session would not be terminated, without some violent measures or important changes. The Duke of Richmond said 'he thought the House of Lords was nearly done for;' and Greville, a stanch Tory, coincided in this opinion. 'I am not at all sure,' he said, 'but that the Government is content to exhibit its paltry numbers in the House of Lords, in order that the world may see how essentially it is a Tory body, that it hardly fulfils the conditions of a great independent legislative assembly, but presents the appearance of a dominant party faction which is too numerous to be affected by any constitutional process, and too obstinate to be turned from its fixed purpose of opposing all the measures which have a tendency to diminish the influence of the Conservative party in the country. It is impossible to look at the disposition exhibited by this great majority and not admit that there is a very small chance of its acting harmoniously with the present House of Commons, and that some change must take place in order to enable Government and legislation to go on at all. It is anything but clear that the nation desires the destruction of the House of Lords, nor is it clear that the nation cares for its preservation. It is, I think, exceedingly probable

that a majority of those who return members to Parliament, and in whom collectively the supreme power really resides, though they might be content to retain the House of Lords if it could be made to act in harmony with, and therefore necessarily in subordination to the House of Commons, would not hesitate for an instant to decree its downfall if it became clear that there was no other way of crushing the Tory faction which now rules triumphant in that House.'

At the close of the session O'Connell, who considered that Ireland had special reasons for demanding a reform of the House of Lords, declared that he now abandoned Repeal and all other projects in order to devote himself to the great task of reforming the Upper House, to which he ascribed the continuance of the grievances of which the Irish complained. He set out on what he called 'a mission' to the north of England and Scotland, to rouse the people to demand that an elective chamber should be substituted for the present hereditary House of Lords — that a peer should be chosen for a term of years by every 200,000 electors, which would yield a House of 130 peers, instead of the 170 who at that time composed the legislative body. He was received with unbounded enthusiasm by enormous crowds, composed, however, for the most part, of the lower classes. In Scotland especially, men of rank, property, and character generally held aloof from the Agitator; and one of the Established Church ministers of Paisley was even rebuked by his Presbytery for saying grace at a public dinner given to O'Connell at Glasgow. O'Connell's style of oratory, which produced such a rousing effect on the inflammable natives of Ireland, fell coldly on the ears of the shrewd manufacturing classes in the north of England, and of hard-headed, cautious Scotsmen. He talked of the 170 tyrants who had prevented Parliament from passing more than one good measure during the previous session. He told the citizens of Edinburgh that ancient Athens was degraded for submitting to thirty tyrants; modern Athens will never allow 170 tyrants to rule over her. The 'House of Lords began the quarrel with me,' he said. 'They may treat me as a mad dog if they please; I must fight them, but I will treat them as the Quaker treated the dog which had attacked him. "Heaven forbid," said he, "that I should do thee the slightest injury; I am a man of peace, and I will not hurt thee;" but when the dog went away he cried out, "Mad dog! mad dog!" and all the people set upon him. Now, that is my remedy with the House of Lords. I am more honest than the Quaker was; for the dog that attacked me is really mad. Bills were rejected in the House of Lords simply because Daniel O'Connell supported them; and I do say that if I had any twelve men on a jury in a question of lunacy, I would put it to such a jury to say if such men were not confirmed madmen. So you perceive the dog is really mad, and accordingly I have started on this mission to rouse the public mind to the necessity of reforming the House of Lords, and I have had 50,000 cheering me at Manchester and 100,000 cheering me in Newcastle, and I heard one simultaneous cry, "Down with the mad dogs and up with common sense!" The same cry has resounded through Auld Reekie; the Calton Hill, and Arthur's Seat re-echoed with the sound; and all Scotland has expressed the same determination to use every legitimate effort to remove the House of Lords. Though the Commons are with us, yet the House of Lords are against us, and they have determined that they will not concede a portion of freedom which they can possibly keep back. Sir Robert Peel, the greatest humbug that ever lived, and as full of political and religious cant as any man that ever canted in this canting world—feeling himself quite safe on his own dunghill—says that *we* want but one chamber, one House of Radical reformers. He knew that in saying this he was saying what was not true. We know too well the advantage of double

deliberation not to support two Houses; but they must be subject to popular control; they must be the servants, not the masters, of the people.' 'A hundred and seventy men our masters!' he exclaimed in Glasgow. 'It is impossible that it can last—that such a set of stupid and ignorant, half-mad fops and coxcombs should continue to lord it.'

O'Connell's orations were greeted with tumultuous applause by the mob, but they produced anything rather than a favourable impression on the thoughtful and influential portion of the community, who, though deeply dissatisfied with the conduct of the House of Lords, were not prepared to substitute an elective for a hereditary legislative assembly. He became the object of unmeasured abuse—the target at which every shaft of the Opposition was aimed. He repaid in kind the torrent of invective poured upon him with the most virulent and scurrilous vituperation. The acrimonious controversy was not creditable or profitable to either party, and will be read now with mingled astonishment and regret. O'Connell's 'mission' did not contribute in any way to the reform of the House of Lords, and the fierce attacks made upon him by the Tory organs and orators did not tend to diminish his power. Greville shrewdly remarked that O'Connell was exalted to the eminence at which he had arrived, more by the assaults of his enemies, than by the efforts of his friends. 'It is the Tories,' he says, 'who are ever insisting upon the immensity of his power, and whose excess of hatred and fear makes him of such vast account that "he draws the rabble after him as a monster makes a show."'

The ministers winced a good deal under the patronage of the Irish agitator—not the less that his support was indispensable to their continuance in office. On returning to his position as the head of the administration, Lord Melbourne was questioned by Lord Alvanley as to the terms of the compact he was alleged to have made with O'Connell. He replied in calm but most explicit terms, 'I am asked how far I coincide in the opinions of Mr. O'Connell about the Union with Ireland? I answer, Not at all. I am asked whether I am to have the aid of Mr. O'Connell? I reply that I cannot tell. And lastly, on what terms? I answer, I have made no terms with him whatever.' No one questioned Lord Melbourne's word; but it is quite certain that there was an understanding between O'Connell and some members of the Government, which, however, was not necessarily discreditable to either party. The Opposition, of course, continued to ring the changes on the dependence of the Ministry on Irish support, and the danger they in consequence incurred. One of H. B.'s cartoons published at this time attracted a good deal of attention, and contributed not a little to impress this charge on the public mind. The drawing depicted a lion, with whose massive features those of O'Connell were subtly interlined, good-naturedly allowing Lord John to put his head into his mouth, as Van Amburgh was in the habit of doing at Exeter Change. When halfway in the keeper, whose position prevented him from seeing what was going on, is represented as asking anxiously, 'Does he wag his tail?' In another sketch the Agitator is represented as a farmer sowing seed out of a bag labelled 'Sedition,' while Russell is holding the plough and Morpeth is driving the horses. In a third he is depicted as Guy Fawkes detected by Peel and Stanley in the vault, which is stowed with fagots bearing the titles of 'Agitation,' 'Delusion,' 'Fraud,' 'Rent,' 'Rights of Ireland,' 'Repeal of the Union,' 'Separation,' 'Treason.' These popular sketches both indicated the state of public feeling and helped to strengthen it.

O'Connell's behaviour in his personal relations to society gave great offence to the upper classes of both parties, and did no good to the Ministry. His coarse attack on Lord Alvanley, a witty, spirited nobleman, whom he denounced as 'a bloated buffoon,'

and then refused to give him either an apology or satisfaction,* led to a duel between Alvanley and O'Connell's son Morgan, which did not tend to raise the reputation either of father or son. The proceedings produced an extraordinary sensation, and helped to bring the immoral practice of duelling into disrepute.

Sir Francis Burdett, who had been gradually falling away from the Whig party, was so strongly dissatisfied with O'Connell's conduct that he wrote a letter to the managers of Brooks's Club, proposing his expulsion. The ground on which the ex-Radical baronet made this unusual proposal was O'Connell's refusal to 'act in accordance with the code of social law which was universally regarded as necessary and indispensable for the preservation of social harmony and decorum.' He had given public notice that he was self-emancipated from its obligations, that he acknowledged none of the restraints and would submit to none of the penalties by which the intercourse of society is regulated and kept in order; and having thus surrounded himself with all the immunities of irresponsibility, 'out of the reach of danger he is bold, out of the reach of shame he is confident.' Instead of feeling that he was especially bound to guard his language with the most scrupulous care, and to abstain religiously from every offensive expression, he rioted in invective and insult, and had rendered himself unfit for the society of gentlemen.† Burdett's proposal, however, was rejected by the managers, and he in consequence withdrew his own name from the club. Stanley and Graham, and a considerable number of aristocratic Whigs, followed the example thus set them. The failure of the attempt, as was predicted, gave O'Connell another and an unmerited triumph.

Another incident which occurred at this time brought O'Connell unpleasantly before the public, and seemed at first to threaten very serious consequences. Messrs. Bruin and Kavanagh, two Conservatives who had been returned at the general election in 1834 for the county of Carlow, were unseated on petition, and on the 27th of May, 1835, the election was declared void. A Mr. Raphael, a London citizen, was invited by O'Connell to become a candidate for the county, and accepted the invitation on the assurance that the contest would not cost him more than £1000, which he paid to O'Connell at the outset. After a sharp contest Raphael was returned by a small majority, along with a gentleman named Vigors. The defeated Tory candidates, however, presented a petition against the return, and demanded a scrutiny. Raphael was obliged to pay a second £1000 to cover the expense of defending his return; but upwards of a hundred votes which had been given for him and Vigors were struck off the list by the Committee, and the rival candidates were seated in their room.

Raphael was enraged at the loss of his seat and his money, and gave publicity to the transaction. He admitted that £1800 of the £2000 which he had handed over to O'Connell had been properly spent; but he affirmed that no proper account could be given of the manner in which the remaining £200 had been expended. An accusation so serious naturally produced a great effect, published as it was in the midst of O'Connell's attacks upon the House of Lords. It was brought before the House of Commons, and a Committee, of which Lord Francis Egerton, the Tory member for South Lancashire, was chairman, was ap-

* O'Connell at an earlier period had shot in a duel a Mr. D'Esterre, a member of the Dublin Corporation, who had sent him a challenge, and he, in consequence, made a vow that he would never fight another duel. It was said, not without reason, that in these circumstances he ought to keep strict watch over his speech, and avoid the use of scurrilous and abusive language.

† O'Connell's chief opponents, however, were not entitled to cast the first stone at him. The *Times* at this very period, not contented with attacking him almost daily in prose, inserted (26th November, 1835) a copy of verses denouncing him as—

'Scum condensed of Irish bog!
uffian—coward—demagogue!
Boundless liar—base detractor!
Nurse of murders, treason's factor!'

and much more to the same purport.

pointed to investigate the affair. Sanguine hopes were entertained by the Opposition that the inquiry would criminate O'Connell, but the reverse was the case. It terminated in his complete and unanimous acquittal by the Committee of any illegal or improper practices, and the House passed resolutions adopting this view of the transaction. 'It is very singular,' says Greville, 'that he does not seem to have known his own case, or he might have rebutted the accusations in the first instance; but it has turned out luckily for him, as it has afforded him a great triumph and his adversaries an equally great mortification. It is now time for the Tories to give up attacking him—that is, making him their grand political butt. They do not lower him; on the contrary, they raise his importance everywhere, and make his sway in Ireland more absolute.'

CHAPTER XI.

Appointment of Pepys as Chancellor and Bickersteth as Master of the Rolls—Dissatisfaction of Sir John Campbell—Disappointment of Lord Brougham—Settlement of the question of Orange Lodges—Scandalous state of the Irish Municipalities—Bill brought in for their Reform—Opposition of the Conservatives—The Mutilation of the Measure by the Peers—It is laid aside by the Government—The Irish Tithe Bill carried in the Commons—The Appropriation Clause struck out by the Lords—The amended Measure rejected by the Lower House—The English Tithe Commutation Bill becomes law—Acts passed regulating Dissenters' Marriages and the Registration of Births and Deaths—Ecclesiastical Commission—Episcopal Sees Bill—Cathedral Chapters—Sydney Smith's Opposition—Counsel allowed to Persons charged with Felony—Lord Lyndhurst's Speech—New Houses of Parliament—Proposal to admit Ladies to the Strangers' Gallery—The Budget—Reduction of the Tax on Newspapers and on Paper opposed by the Conservatives—Effect of the Reduction—Lyndhurst's Attack on the Ministry—Melbourne's Reply—Dissatisfaction of the Radicals—Their Proposals—Commercial Crisis—Difficulties of the Government.

THE session of 1836 was opened by the king in person on the 14th of February. No change of any consequence had taken place during the recess in the members of the Government who had seats in the Lower House, but their ranks in the House of Lords had been augmented by the accession of two eminent lawyers—Sir Charles Pepys, who had been appointed to the office of Lord Chancellor and created Lord Cottenham, and Mr. Bickersteth, who had succeeded him as Master of the Rolls, and had been elevated to the Peerage by the title of Lord Langdale. This change in the ministerial arrangements had been brought about somewhat suddenly by a pamphlet of Sir Edward Sugden, ex-Chancellor of Ireland, entitled, 'What has become of the Great Seal?' in which he called attention to the unsatisfactory working of the present arrangement, to the accumulation of arrears in the Court of Chancery, the delay in the decision of important cases, the enormous increase of costs, and the strong dissatisfaction felt, both by the legal profession and the public, at the denial of justice. Lord John Russell and a majority of the Cabinet urged that Pepys should be made Chancellor; and as it was well known that he was both a timid and an inefficient speaker, and 'could scarcely put two sentences together' in a debate, they proposed that Bickersteth should succeed him at the Rolls, and be created a peer, in the belief that he would be a match for Brougham. Sir John Cam Hobhouse was mainly to blame for the adoption of this notion. He assured the other members of the Cabinet that when Bickersteth was arguing a case before the Privy Council he had completely put Brougham down by a happy and pointed retort, and he had no doubt that he would be able to hold his own against the ex-Chancellor. Bickersteth was a kind of philosophic Radical, and a disciple of Bentham. He had never held office, and had, in fact, refused the Solicitor-Generalship in 1834, mainly, it was believed, from his reluctance to take part in Parliamentary debates. But he enjoyed a high reputation among the Benthamites as a law reformer. Melbourne had great misgivings as to his fitness for the task proposed for him, which were not removed by his declaring to the Premier, with a confident air, that *he* did not consider Brougham a very formidable antagonist. 'I do,' was Melbourne's brief and significant comment; 'and he thought less than ever of the Utilitarian's chances in the war of words.' It was resolved, however, to carry out what Lord Campbell calls 'the very hasty, rash, and foolish resolution that the Commission should be put an end to, that Brougham should be abandoned, that Pepys, the Solicitor-General, should be Chancellor, and Bickersteth Master of the Rolls.' The latter proved a complete failure as a Parliamentary debater. His first speech, delivered

in support of a Bill for dividing the political from the judicial functions of the Chancellor, was fatal to the measure, and, as Campbell says, 'all hope was gone of his ever looking an opponent in the face.'* According to his own confession, 'when he rose to speak he did not know whether his head or his heels were uppermost.' Pepys, however, fulfilled the expectations which had been formed of his judicial capacity, though he was of no use to the Government either as a debater or a Cabinet counsellor. Lord Plunket asked the Premier how he got on with the new Chancellor. 'Oh! capitally,' was the reply; 'I am like a man who has broken for good with a termagant mistress and married the best of cooks.'

These new arrangements naturally and not unjustifiably gave great dissatisfaction to Sir John Campbell, the Attorney-General. He was senior to both the new peers, was not only an accomplished lawyer but a ready debater, and had always been a consistent Whig. He was so indignant at being passed over by men junior to himself, and who had no special claims on the Government, that he sent in his resignation of his office, to the great regret, and indeed dismay, of the Premier and other members of the Cabinet.† He was ultimately induced to withdraw his resignation on the promise that the 'Great Seal should be bisected,' as he expressed it, and the political functions performed by the Chancellor conferred on him. Meanwhile he was mollified with a peerage conferred upon his wife.

To Brougham, who up to the last had confidently expected that the Great Seal would be restored to him, the disappointment was overwhelming. No pains was taken to break or soften the mortifying intelligence to him. He first learned from the public newspapers that Pepys, a protégé of his own, whom he had made Solicitor-General and then Master of the Rolls, and whose only good speech he had written for him, was in his stead to occupy the woolsack. Lord Campbell says, 'In my opinion, Brougham was atrociously ill-used on this occasion. Considering his distinguished reputation, considering what he had done for the Liberal cause, considering his relations with the Melbourne Government, I incline to think that at every risk they ought to have taken him back into the Cabinet, however difficult it might have been to make conditions or stipulations with him as to his future conduct and demeanour. But sure I am that, in the manner in which they threw him off, they showed disingenuousness, cowardice, and ingratitude. I have myself heard him say, with tears in his eyes, "If Melbourne had treated me openly and kindly he might have done what he liked with the Great Seal, and we might have ever remained friends."' Brougham's health, both bodily and mental, was affected by his disappointment, and he remained at his country seat in Westmoreland during the whole of the session of 1836, greatly to the relief of his old colleagues.

A hope was expressed in the king's speech that Parliament would apply to the defects and evils which may have been shown to exist in the municipal corporations of Ireland, a remedy founded upon the same principles as those of the Acts which had already passed for England and Scotland. The Conservatives objected strongly to this paragraph, on the ground that it was not the province of the Crown to suggest the principles on which the Legislature should deal with the measures submitted to them, and that Parliament should not be required, in voting the address, to pledge itself to the principles of any measure before the measure itself had come regularly before it. In the House of Lords the Duke of Wellington moved as an amendment, that their lordships would only commit themselves 'to

* His *break-down* was partly ascribed to a practical joke in the shape of a rumour (ascribed to Lyndhurst) which circulated among the Peers that Brougham had arrived in London, and was hurrying to the House.

† One of H. B.'s cleverest sketches represents the consternation of the Cabinet on receiving Campbell's resignation.

such remedies as may obviate just causes of complaint, and insure the impartial administration of justice.' Melbourne made no opposition, and the amendment was adopted without a division. 'There was no need,' says Greville, with his usual good sense, 'to press an amendment on such a trifle. The other side felt this in the House of Lords and gave it up, though there were so many Ministerial peers in the House that the division would have been very near; but in the House of Commons Lord John Russell would not give way, and what is more, Peel never had any intention of moving any amendment, for there was a great meeting in the morning at his house, and there it was resolved that none should be moved, and certainly very few people expected any. At last he moved it because it had been moved in the House of Lords; but it seems to have been a foolish bungling business altogether.' The amendment was rejected in the Commons by a majority of forty-one (284 votes to 243), and this decisive victory tended not a little to strengthen the Ministry and to dishearten the Opposition.

The first question that was brought before the House of Commons this session was the existence of Orange Lodges in the army, which was finally and satisfactorily disposed of in the manner already described. It was followed by the introduction of a measure dealing with the Irish corporations. As the municipalities in Scotland and England had been reformed, it became necessary to extend the same policy to those of Ireland. The same preparatory measures had been adopted in order to pave the way for an Irish corporation bill. A Commission of inquiry had been issued by the Ministry of Earl Grey, and had brought to light abuses far more flagrant than had been found to exist in the sister countries. Jobbery and corruption of the most flagrant kind were prevalent in every municipality, all of which were self-elected; and the property and the privileges alike of the boroughs were systematically employed to promote the interests of the Orange and High Tory party. A considerable number of the corporations which had been deprived at the Union of the right to send representatives to Parliament, had ceased to exist; but there were still sixty in full vigour, and eleven which were in a state of decay. The seventy-one boroughs which were under the management of those bodies contained a population of 900,000 persons, while the number of corporators was only 13,000. Of that number no less than 8000 belonged to four boroughs, leaving only 5000 corporators to regulate the municipal affairs of the remaining boroughs, containing a population of more than 500,000 inhabitants. Limerick had a population of 66,000 souls, and only 271 corporators; Maryborough had 5000 inhabitants, and only 9 corporators; Cashel had 7000 people, and 38 corporators. The smallness of their number was not redeemed by their character. The corporators in general were the mere tools of some powerful patron or political party, and their mismanagement and waste of the property of the corporation was scandalous in the extreme. A system of jobbery, peculation, and plunder was followed habitually in every one of these municipalities. The Corporation of Dublin had been authorized by an Act of the Irish Parliament to levy an assessment, called the pipe-water rate, for the purpose of supplying the city with water. It had also been authorized, by an Act passed in 1809, to levy another rate for laying pipes of metal instead of wood. Their first proceeding was to vote their own Treasurer £1500 a year out of the pipe-water rate; and notwithstanding the large sum raised by the rates, they had contracted a debt of nearly £100,000. The Corporation of Derry obtained in 1790 an Act for building a bridge, and levying certain harbour and tonnage dues to cover the expense. The erection of the bridge cost £1600, which they borrowed;

and although the dues drawn by them amounted in 1813 to £32,000, they had not paid a shilling of the debt. The bridge having been carried away in 1813, the Corporation obtained a new Act, and a loan of £16,000 from the Consolidated Fund to rebuild it. The dues drawn between 1813 and 1831 amounted to £70,000. Of this sum £17,000 had been expended in repairs, £53,000 was unaccounted for, and the debt remained undiminished. A case of jobbery and plunder even more scandalous had occurred in Cashel. The Corporation of that town possessed 1500 acres of land, which were held by a tenant under a lease for ninety-nine years, from 1732, at a rent of £86 7*s.* 6*d.*, a fine having been paid. When the termination of the lease was approaching, the tenant offered first £10,000 and then £15,000 for a renewal; but both offers were refused as being too low. He then sold the remainder of his lease—about two years and a half—to the patron of the burgh for £2500, and the patron immediately got a renewal of the lease at the old rent for ninety-nine years without paying any fine at all, the real value of the lands being at least £1500 a year. The people of Cashel were suffering from a want of water. An adequate supply could have been readily obtained at a cost of from £2000 to £3000; but the Corporation could not waste their property on any such purpose as supplying the inhabitants with water.

The jobbery and dishonesty of these Corporations were aggravated by their exclusiveness and partisanship. The Municipalities had been nominally open to the Roman Catholics since 1792, yet not more than 200 members of that denomination had been admitted to their freedom in all Ireland. The Common Council of Dublin acted on the avowed principle of excluding from their body not only every Roman Catholic, but the Protestants also, even the most intelligent and wealthy, who did not belong to the dominant political party. A similar principle of sectarian exclusion prevailed in almost every municipality in Ireland. The abuses were equally flagrant connected with the administration of justice, the election of sheriffs, and the empanneling of juries. In Dublin there were only about seventy Roman Catholics on the jury. In Fermanagh there had not been a Roman Catholic on a jury for thirty years. In Cork men who had been bankrupts were preferred to individuals who represented the wealth and respectability of the city, but who did not belong to the Corporation.

A Bill for the reform of these gross abuses was introduced by Perrin, the Attorney-General for Ireland, on the 31st of July, 1835, and was read a third time and passed on the 17th of August; but it was hopeless to carry it through the Lords so late in the session. It was again introduced on the 16th of February, 1836, and was read a second time on the 29th.

The measure which the Government introduced for the purpose of placing the Irish municipalities on a popular and equitable basis was framed on the lines of the Bills which had been passed for the reform of the Scottish and English Corporations. It made the Councils purely elective. In regard to the seven largest towns—Dublin, Cork, Belfast, Limerick, Kilkenny, Waterford, and Galway — the electors were to consist of the £10 householders; in the smaller boroughs, where there were very few houses valued at £10 a year, the municipal franchise was to be conferred on £5 householders, to whom indeed the right to elect Commissioners for the purposes of lighting, watching, and paving their several towns had already been intrusted. The qualification of Councillors in the seven largest boroughs was to be the possession of property worth £1000; in the other boroughs, of £500; one-half of the aldermen were to be elected by the voters, and were to go out of office triennially; and one-third of the Councillors were to retire annually.

The Bill was read a second time without

opposition. The Conservatives found it impossible to resist the abolition of a system so corrupt, expensive, and immoral; but they contended that the Irish people were not fit for self-government — that as the great majority of the people belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, they would of course elect Roman Catholic Councillors, and consequently the supremacy of the Protestants in the Corporations would now be transferred to the Papists. In other words, they were so illiberal and short-sighted as to seek the restoration of religious disabilities, and to deny to the great majority of the people of Ireland their just rights because they adhered to the Romish faith. This petty and factious policy was equally unwise and unworthy, and in the end brought fresh discomfiture and discredit on the Tory party. The proposal no doubt originated with Lyndhurst, and was like him and worthy of him; but it excites equal surprise and regret that Peel, against his better judgment, should have been induced to concur in it, in order to pacify the extreme and foolish members of his party.

When the Irish Corporation Bill was about to go into committee, Lord Francis Egerton was put forward to move, as an instruction to the Committee, that the Irish municipalities should be suppressed; that the boroughs should be placed under the control, not of elected Councils, but of sheriffs or magistrates appointed by the Crown; and that the property of the Corporations should be intrusted to commissioners nominated by the same authority. A keen debate ensued on these propositions, in which all the leading members of the House of Commons took part; but Lord Francis Egerton's motion was rejected by 307 votes to 243. This signal victory of the Government, which might have convinced the Tories that they had made a great mistake, facilitated the progress of the Bill through the Commons. An attempt to throw it out on the third reading was defeated by a majority of sixty-one (260 votes to 199). But the result, as no doubt was anticipated, was very different when the measure was sent up to the House of Lords. The majority there did what the minority in the Lower House had vainly striven to accomplish. There was no division, indeed, on the second reading; but Lyndhurst, as the mouthpiece of the Opposition, stated explicitly the course they intended to pursue, and on the 26th of April Lord Fitzgerald and Vesci moved an instruction to the Committee 'to make provision for the abolition of Corporations, and for such arrangements as may be necessary, on their abolition, for securing the efficient and impartial administration of justice and the peace and good government of cities and towns in Ireland.' This motion was carried by 203 votes to 119; and in accordance with the instruction thus given, the Bill was completely transformed by successive alterations into a measure not for the reform, but for the abolition of Municipal Corporations in Ireland. Out of 140 clauses, of which the Bill originally consisted, 100 were deleted, and eighteen new clauses were added. The Duke of Richmond made a strenuous, but ineffectual, effort to induce the Tory peers to allow seven of the largest towns to retain the management of their own affairs; and the Bill was returned to the Commons completely transformed both as to its leading principles and its details.

The Irish representatives were naturally very indignant at the refusal of the Tory peers to intrust them with the privilege of municipal self-government, which had been conferred on their English and Scottish fellow-subjects. Mr. Smith O'Brien, the member for the county of Limerick, declared that 'the alterations made by the Lords were a direct insult to his country.' And O'Connell, in a letter to the *Chronicle*, said 'we will have Lord Lyndhurst's Bill kicked out. No compromise, no submission; the Lords have commenced the collision; they have taken their choice to rest that collision upon the insulting iniquity of refusing corporate reform to Ireland. We

only follow in their track by throwing out the Bill, and join issue with them to the country.' The Government, however, were anxious to avoid the collision which O'Connell threatened, and expressed their willingness to compromise the question at issue between the two Houses. On the 9th of June Lord John Russell, on moving that the amendments of the Lords should be taken into consideration, after noticing the total change in the character of the Bill which had been effected by the Lords, and calling pointed attention to the fact that though they had resolved to abolish the Corporations, they had proposed to continue all the present officials, town-clerks, bailiffs, treasurers, clerks of the market, weigh-masters of all goods, and even tasters of butter, in office during their lives, expressed his willingness that the Corporations in the smaller boroughs should be abolished on condition that the householders in the twelve largest towns in Ireland should be allowed to elect their Town Councils. His lordship then moved that the fourth clause, which implied the continuance of corporations and had been struck out by the Peers, should be replaced in the Bill. After a debate, which lasted two nights, the motion was carried by a majority of eighty-six (324 votes against 238). But the Peers refused to give way. On the 27th of June they resolved to adhere to their amendments by a majority of 220 to 121, and the Bill was in consequence laid aside; but the protracted discussion, and the support given to the measure in the House of Commons, contributed not a little to strengthen the Ministry and to lower the House of Lords in the estimation of all moderate and right-thinking persons.

The other great party question respecting Ireland was the Tithe Bill. On the 25th of April Lord Morpeth moved, 'That it is expedient to commute the composition of tithes in Ireland into a rent charge payable by the owners of the estate, and to make further provision for the better regulation of ecclesiastical dues and revenues.' He frankly admitted that, though not distinctly expressed in his resolution, the principle of appropriation would be involved in the measure to be founded on it. The second reading of the Bill was not moved till the 1st of June, and gave rise to a debate which lasted over three nights. Lord Stanley moved as an amendment that leave should be given to bring in a Bill for the conversion of tithe into a rent charge without reference to appropriation; but the second reading of the Government measure was carried by a majority of thirty-nine. The House of Lords, on the other hand, expunged by a large majority the provisions relating to appropriation, and returned the Bill to the Commons as a Tithe Commutation Bill, pure and simple. Lord John Russell at this stage raised a question of privilege, declaring that the Peers had infringed the constitutional principle, that the Commons possessed the exclusive principle of dealing with all bills relating to money, and moved that the amendments introduced by the Lords should be taken into consideration that day three months. After a lengthened discussion the motion of the Home Secretary was carried by a majority of twenty-nine, and the Bill was accordingly abandoned.

It was fortunate that the commutation of tithes in England was not hampered by any of the exciting questions connected with the Irish measure. It was the interest of both political parties that the question should be settled with all possible speed. Sir Robert Peel, during his short administration in 1835, had brought forward a plan for the voluntary commutation of tithes throughout all England, but it fell to the ground on the overthrow of his Ministry. At the commencement of the session of 1836 Lord John Russell introduced a bill which, in its most important provisions, closely resembled the measure proposed by Peel, though, unlike Peel, he proposed to make commutation compulsory. It provided three different modes of settlement. It encouraged voluntary arrange-

ments between tithe-payers and tithe-owners; it empowered the majority of these two classes to bind the remainder; and in certain cases it gave authority to the tithe commissioners to effect a settlement. Like Peel, Russell proposed to appoint a central commission of three persons to carry out the commutations. The amount of the tithe was to be regulated by the average price of wheat, barley, and oats during the seven preceding years, and the tithe-owner was to receive not less than sixty per cent. and not more than seventy-five per cent. of the nominal gross value of the tithe.

The proposals of the Government met with no opposition in either House of Parliament, as both tithe-payers and tithe-receivers were anxious that this troublesome question should be speedily and finally settled. The Bill passed through both Houses with only one amendment, introduced by the Lords, which, however, they did not insist on when it was objected to by the Commons, and the Bill in its original form became law. The measure proved a valuable boon to the country. It removed a great grievance, and a serious hinderance to agricultural improvement. It relieved the clergy from the unseemly contentions arising out of the existing system, and from the unpopularity and ill-will they had unavoidably incurred by the vexatious mode in which an impost, obnoxious to many of their parishioners, was collected, and gave them a certain stipend for an income which varied with the varying weather, and was frequently most scanty when it was most required.

Another much-needed measure of relief was also carried into effect during this session. The Dissenters had long complained of the restrictions to which they had been subjected by the Marriage Act of 1753, which had materially abridged the privileges they had previously enjoyed. From that time onward, except in the case of members of the Society of Friends and Jews, marriages could be legally celebrated by a clergyman of the Church of England alone, and certain classes of Dissenters complained loudly that they were thus compelled to take part in a religious ceremony at variance with their conscientious convictions, and to give an apparent assent to doctrines which they did not believe. All marriages had to be registered by the clergyman, as well as performed in the church. The clergyman was the legal custodier of the parish register, and not only all marriages, but all baptisms, and burials also that took place in the churchyard, had to be registered by him. There was, however, no official registration of births, but only of baptisms; and in consequence the names of the children of members of the Society of Friends and of the Baptist body were not included in the record.

Repeated attempts had been made by the Dissenters to free themselves from their galling disabilities in connection with the performance of the marriage ceremony. In 1819, and again in 1822, Mr. William Smith, the member for Norwich, proposed to omit the declaration of belief in the Trinity which is contained in the marriage service, but his proposal was rejected on both occasions by a Parliament that had no sympathy with the grievances of Dissenters. In 1823 the Marquis of Lansdowne brought in a bill to permit Dissenters to celebrate their marriages in their own chapels, but requiring them to have their bans proclaimed in the parish church, and to pay the usual fees to the parish clergyman. The measure, however, was violently denounced by Lord Chancellor Eldon, and was rejected by the Lords. In 1827 Mr. Smith returned to the subject, and introduced a bill to authorize civil marriages; but though it passed the Commons it was thrown out by the Upper House. In the first Reformed Parliament Lord John Russell proposed to relieve Dissenters from the injustice of being compelled to use a religious service of which they conscientiously disapproved, and to allow them to perform the marriage ceremony in their

own chapels, which were to be licensed for the purpose. But his plan for their relief did not meet with the approbation of the Dissenters themselves, because it still required them to have their bans asked in the parish church, and their marriages registered by the parish clergyman. In Peel's Tamworth Manifesto he expressed his willingness to relieve Dissenters from the grievance of which they complained in connection with the celebration of their marriages; and he brought forward a bill which was an improvement on that of Russell. He proposed that marriage should in the eye of the law be regarded as a purely civil contract, and that a religious service might be superadded by those who thought this desirable or necessary. Dissenters were to have full liberty to marry in their own chapels, but the registry of the marriage was to be intrusted to the parish clergyman, who was to receive a fee of five shillings for his service.

Peel's Bill, along with the other measures which he had prepared, was of course laid aside on the overthrow of his administration, and the settlement of this 'vexed question' accordingly devolved on his successors in office. It had become evident that it could not be satisfactorily settled without the establishment of a proper system of registration, which should include indifferently and impartially all sects of the people. The Government, therefore, resolved to deal with the subject in two Bills—one for the registration of births and deaths, the other for the celebration and registration of marriages. The former proposed that a registrar should be appointed for each district, by whom all births and deaths were to be registered. He was to report to a central registry in each county, and the county registrars were in turn to transmit their records to London, where they were to be kept in a central office, and were to be open to inspection on the payment of a small fee. The whole system was to be placed under the superintendence of a registrar-general. The other Bill, which amended the law relating to marriages, proposed that persons who desired to marry without bans should give notice of their intention to the registrar; that their names should be entered by him in a notice-book open for general inspection for twenty-one days before the celebration; and that the ceremony might be performed in the church or in any chapel registered for the purpose, or at the office of the superintendent-registrar.

The two Bills were brought in by Lord John Russell, and were read a second time on the 15th of April without opposition. Mr. Goulburn, who, as one of the members for the University of Cambridge, regarded himself as specially a representative of the clergy, objected to the Registration Bill that it separated the naming of the child from the rite of baptism; but the amendment which he proposed was rejected by a majority of twenty-four. Sir Robert Inglis, another firm supporter of the claims of the Church, said in the Committee on the Bill, 'With the single exception of the time of the Great Rebellion, there was no one instance in the history of the country of marriage having been considered otherwise than as a religious ceremony. This was a solitary attempt to give a civil character to a religious contract.' The great majority of the House, however, supported the provision which allowed every person to be married according to whatever form his conscience dictated.

In the House of Lords the Bishop of Exeter strenuously advocated the view propounded by Sir Robert Inglis, and inveighed against the measure, which 'degraded marriage into a mere civil contract, and held out an invitation to the members of the Church to contract that most solemn of all engagements without any religious ceremony whatever.' 'By this Bill,' he said, 'parties would be able to contract marriage without uttering a syllable as to the nature of the contract beyond that they desired to live together as man and wife.' They would

not even be obliged to say that it was a contract for life, notwithstanding that it was a contract of the most solemn and binding description. The only period in the history of this country at which a similar attempt was made was during the time of the usurpation; but although marriage might *then* be contracted before a magistrate a strictly solemn and religious *formula* was enjoined. Here, however, the contract was to be purely civil, and attended with no greater solemnities than would be required for a contract entered into between parties for mere service. He must insist that a contract so sacred and indissoluble should be accompanied with suitable solemnities, and unless this was done, no earthly inducement could prevail with him to allow the measure to progress another stage without opposing it.

The great majority of the peers, however, had no sympathy with the Bishop's objections, and the amendment which he moved was opposed not only by the Ministers and their adherents, but by the Duke of Wellington and Lords Ellenborough and Ripon. They enacted, however, that bans should still be proclaimed with regard to 'all marriages of members of the Established Church,' and made some other alterations of minor importance, which, when the Bill was returned to the Commons, were acquiesced in by the members for the sake of the great principle embodied in the measure and accepted by the Lords.

The relief given to the consciences of Dissenters is by no means the only benefit which has resulted from these judicious and much-needed measures. The statistical details collected by the registrars have furnished a mass of information respecting the condition of the people—their education, their sanitary state, the prevalence and causes of disease, and other important matters—which have been of invaluable service to the man of science as well as to the legislator.

Sir Robert Peel, during his brief administration, had appointed a Commission, composed of the two Archbishops, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Gloucester, and some of the chief members of the Government, to consider the condition of the Church in England and Wales, and to suggest such changes as might remove anomalies and insure more effective clerical services. The Melbourne Ministry continued the Commission, merely substituting some of their own number for the official members placed on it by their predecessors. The appointment of the Commission was strongly objected to by the High Church party, headed by Dr. Pusey, on the ground that the Government had no right to meddle with the distribution of Church offices and funds. The Commissioners, however, went zealously to work, and produced a report which set forth in detail the extraordinary inequalities that existed between the incomes of the different bishoprics and deaneries, and the disproportion between the incomes of a large number of the parochial clergymen and the duties they had to perform. The Bishop of Durham had a revenue of £19,480 per annum, and the Bishop of London £13,890, while the Bishop of Oxford had only £1600, the Bishop of Rochester £1400, and the Bishop of Llandaff £1170. In order to supply an adequate income to the poorly endowed bishops it had been customary to allow them to hold *in commendam* deaneries, canonries, or rich livings. A similar inequality was found to exist in the parochial incumbencies. There were parishes in London and in the mining and manufacturing districts of the country, with a population of 20,000 or 30,000 persons under the spiritual charge of a single clergyman, receiving an income often less than £150 per annum derived from fees and pew rents; while, on the other hand, there were livings with only a few hundreds of parishioners, in which the incumbent was in the receipt of from £3000 to £7000 a year.

The first report of the Commissioners recommended that a different territorial

arrangement of dioceses should be made with the view of making them more equal in extent; that two sees should be suppressed, and two others erected in their place; and that the revenues of the bishops, with the exception of the two Archbishops and the Bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester, should not exceed £5500, nor fall below £4500. They also recommended that the income of Canterbury should be fixed at £15,000 instead of £19,000; of York and London, at £10,000 each; of Durham, at £8000; and of Winchester, at £7000. The sees which they proposed to suppress were those of Bristol and of Sodor and Man; the former to be united to Bath and Wells, and the latter to Carlisle. And the two new sees were to be established at Ripon and Manchester.

The Commissioners had been instructed to inquire also into the state of cathedral and collegiate revenues, and they proposed to make considerable changes both in the amount of the incomes of deans and in the number of the canons and minor canons. They recommended that the non-resident prebendaries should be suppressed, and their revenues added to a fund for the general benefit of the Church and the augmentation of poor livings. The dignitaries that were allowed to remain in the different cathedrals were to be more nearly equalized in regard to their incomes, though considerable inequalities were still to remain. The revenue of the Dean of Durham was to be fixed at £4594, and that of the Deans of Westminster and Oxford at £3000 each, while the Dean of Chester was to receive only £441. The salary of each canon of Durham was to be £2000 a year, but a canon of Chester was to have only £187. These differences were recommended on the ground of the inequality in the value of the estates belonging to the different cathedrals. It was proposed that Christchurch, Oxford, should have a dean and six canons; that the chapters of Bangor and St. Asaph should each consist of a dean and two canons; that of St. David's of a precentor and two canons; and that of Llandaff of an archdeacon and two canons. But the chapters of the other cathedrals, of the Chapel-Royal at Windsor and the collegiate church at Westminster, were each to consist of a dean and four canons. In order to remedy the gross abuses of pluralities and non-residence, it was proposed that with the exception of a few special cases no incumbent should be allowed to be absent from his benefice more than three months without a license from the bishop. It was recommended that no clergyman should be permitted to hold two livings if the income of one of them exceeded £500, or if they were more than ten miles distant from each other, and in no case should any clergyman hold more than two; that no person should hold more than one benefice, with one cathedral preferment; and that no person, except an archdeacon, should hold preferment in more than one cathedral or collegiate church. It was also recommended that all benefices without cure of souls should be suppressed, except such as were in the gift of private patrons, or of a college in either of the universities. The large funds which it was expected would in this way be placed at the disposal of the Commissioners were to be applied to the augmentation of poor livings in populous places under public patronage.

A Bill was brought into the House of Commons by Lord John Russell, for the purpose of carrying into effect the recommendations of the Commissioners regarding the new arrangement of the Episcopal Sees; and a second Bill was subsequently introduced providing for the suppression of sinecure benefices, and the alteration of cathedral and collegiate preferments. A board of ecclesiastical commissioners was to be incorporated, thirteen in number, composed of four prelates, along with certain members of the Government, and Lord Harrowby, the right hon. Henry Hobhouse, and Sir Herbert Jenner, with authority to frame and submit to the King in Council schemes for carry-

ing these recommendations into effect. A special clause was inserted enacting that in future no bishop should hold *in commendam* any ecclesiastical office, dignity, or benefice, all such grants being declared null and void; and provision was also made for preventing the appointment of clergymen not fully conversant with the Welsh language, to any benefice in Wales with the cure of souls.

A vigorous opposition was offered to these measures by the Dissenters and the Radical members of Parliament, headed by Charles Buller and Joseph Hume. They objected to the large salaries which were still to be paid to the bishops and other dignitaries, and to the inequality of their incomes. The scheme was merely, they said, a measure for making better provision for the aristocracy of the Church, and would do little or nothing for the lower grades of the clergy or the people. Mr. Fowell Buxton, and several other members of the Established Church, argued that any surplus revenues should be applied exclusively to increase the incomes of the poor working clergy with livings below or a little above £100 a year, and insisted that there was no reason for postponing relief to this needy class till a surplus should arise from the suppression of prebends and canonries, when assistance could be obtained at once from the superfluous revenues of the bishops. Mr. Charles Lushington urged that the existing system of the translation of bishops from one see to another ought to be abolished. Mr. Charles Buller moved that until due provision should have been made for the adequate payment of the parochial clergy, and for the supply of religious instruction to those districts where it was reported to be deficient, the Archbishop of Canterbury should receive an income of not more than £8000 (the salary of the Lord Chief Justice of England), the Archbishop of York £7000 (the income of the Chief Justice of Common Pleas), the Bishop of London £4500 (the salary of the Common Law Judges), and each of the other bishops £4000. These salaries, he argued, would be amply sufficient considered in relation to the working clergy, of whom no fewer than 5230 had an average stipend of only £81 per annum. The Government, however, persisted in pressing through these measures, pleading that if they had attempted a greater reduction in the incomes of the bishops they should have lost all chance of carrying their bills. With the assistance of the Conservatives, and of O'Connell and his followers, the Ministry succeeded in defeating all the amendments proposed by their own supporters, as well as the motion for the rejection of the Bishops Bill, proposed by Mr. Hume, who contended that the church-rate question should at least be settled before a Liberal Government insisted on passing a measure calculated to strengthen the Church. The House of Lords was almost unanimous in favour of the Bill, and in due time it became law. But the bills for the reform of the chapters, and the regulation of pluralities and non-residence, were dropped for the session. A short Act, however, was passed to prevent the creation of new vested interests in connection with the cathedral offices referred to in the report of the Commissioners. Of the old sees Gloucester was united to Bristol, and St. Asaph to Bangor; while two new sees, those of Ripon and Manchester, were created in accordance with the recommendation of the Commissioners. The secular jurisdiction of the County Palatinate of Durham, with all the rights belonging to that authority, were transferred from the Bishop of the diocese to the Crown. The secular jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York, and of the Bishop of Ely, was also abolished; and restrictions were placed on the renewal of leases by ecclesiastical persons.

These alterations in the ecclesiastical arrangements were very unpopular among the clergy. Many of the bishops were strongly opposed to the changes in the cathedral chapters. So were the deans and

canons, who petitioned against them; and it is impossible to deny that the whole scheme for the rearrangement both of bishoprics and cathedrals was open to serious objections. Sydney Smith, in his inimitable letters to Archdeacon Singleton, has exposed the weak points of the Ministerial measures, and the sayings and doings of the Commissioners, with all his unrivalled powers of wit and argument—'New bishops, new dioceses, confiscated prebends, clergymen changing bishops and bishops clergymen, mitres in Manchester and Ripon, Gloucester turned into Bristol: such a scene of revolution and commutation as has not been seen since the days of Ireton and Cromwell.' The witty canon of St. Paul's was particularly happy in his exposure of the nepotism of the bishops, their predominance in the Commission, the mode in which they used or rather abused its powers to promote their own views; and while sacrificing their own patronage for the good of the Church, taking care to recompense themselves by seizing the patronage of the deans and canons. It appears that they even attempted to appropriate the patronage which belongs to the Chancellor. On this occasion Lord John Russell, who was a member of the Commission, wrote on a slip of paper which he threw across the table to the Archbishop of York, 'I don't object to you robbing one another, but I can't let you rob the Crown.' Sydney Smith succeeded in compelling the bishops and the Ministry to make several important alterations in their scheme, and to lay aside some of its most unjust and offensive provisions; but the necessity of remedying some at least of the inequalities and glaring abuses of the Church was so urgent, that the Government had no difficulty in carrying their measures without any material alteration.

Several other measures were passed in the course of the session, in which the public took a deeper interest, and which were productive of a more beneficial effect. Prominent among them was an Act for allowing prisoners on trial for felony the assistance of counsel. A bill to grant this boon had twice passed the Commons, but as usual with all law reforms, had been lost in the House of Lords. Now, however, the Criminal Law Commissioners unanimously recommended that prisoners on trial for felony should be allowed the benefit of counsel to address the jury on their behalf, and their sanction seems to have had the effect of inducing some of the most obstinate opponents to withdraw their opposition to a proposal recommended at once by justice, common sense, and right feeling. In trials for a misdemeanour, and in trials for treason, prisoners had the benefit of counsel; but not in trials for felony, which stood midway between the two. Even yet there were some men so impervious to reason and equity as to affirm that the measure was altogether unnecessary, not beneficial to the prisoner, nor called for by the country. But Sir Frederick Pollock, O'Connell, and other eminent lawyers pointed out the hardship and injustice to which a poor unlettered man was subjected in being compelled to plead his own case against able and experienced lawyers, ridiculed the absurd allegation that the judge was the prisoner's counsel, and declared that they knew cases where innocent men had been convicted for want of legal aid. The Bill was carried in the House of Commons by an overwhelming majority, and in the House of Lords it was taken charge of by Lord Lyndhurst, who had on former occasions violently opposed the measure. The ex-Chancellor exposed the futility and absurdity of the objections brought against it with irresistible force of argument.

'Distinctions,' he said, 'are drawn even between different classes of crimes, which do not seem to rest on any rational foundation. Treason, the highest of all crimes, and misdemeanour, the lowest kind of offences, are placed on the same footing. In both of these the prisoner is allowed the benefit of counsel to address the jury

on the facts of the case; and yet in the intermediate class—that of felonies—the same privilege does not exist. Thus, certain offences regarding the coin constitute only a misdemeanour when committed for the first time, but become a felony in case of a previous conviction. The consequence is, that a man may be tried for a first offence as a simple misdemeanour, and his counsel may address the jury; if he is found guilty, and immediately tried upon a second indictment for a similar offence, it is now felony; his counsel can no longer address the jury; they can only examine witnesses and speak to points of law. . . . England and Ireland are the only countries in Europe in which a prisoner is not allowed to defend himself by counsel. In Scotland that power is given to the counsel in every case. The same thing is done in our British possessions. If the system is bad, why should it be continued in any part of the country? If it is good, why should it not be extended to all? And what are the evils that are dreaded from the change? It may lead, it is said, to a great consumption of time—the duration of assizes and sessions would be greatly prolonged. But this could never be stated as an objection to the principle of the measure; for where life and liberty are at stake, no time could be grudged that may be necessary for going into the case in the fullest manner. Again, it is objected that if counsel are allowed to address the jury, instead of trials being conducted as they now are with temper and firmness, there would be warmth and zeal on both sides of the Court, which would detract from the gravity and decorum of its proceedings. But is it found in Scotland that trials are conducted with more zeal and warmth or with less decorum than in England? No one ever pretends that it is so, and the evidence proves the contrary. It may be true that, in nine cases out of ten, it is almost immaterial to the result whether there are counsel in the case or not, the facts are so clear and conclusive. Yet there are many cases where the aid of counsel is of the utmost importance to the elucidation of truth, and of great service to the judges who try the case.'

Lord Lyndhurst, however, was not prepared to go the full length of the proposal made by the Commons. The Bill, as it was sent up by them to the House of Lords, gave the prisoner the last word. The ex-Chancellor, Lord Abinger, and other Law Lords, strongly objected to this provision; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the Government, it was expunged. The Commons were very much dissatisfied with this alteration on the Bill, and refused to agree to the amendment. The Lords, however, adhered to it; and as, after a conference, they refused to give way, the Lower House, rather than lose the Bill altogether, consented to accept it as it stood—Mr. Ewart, who brought in the measure, declaring that he would not fail on a subsequent occasion to bring forward again the provision which he now gave up, rather than forfeit the good which the Bill still contained.

An attempt to abolish imprisonment for debt under certain circumstances, proved unsuccessful; but an Act was passed which repealed the statute requiring a murderer to be executed the next day but one after his conviction, unless it should happen to be Sunday, and that during the interval between the sentence and the execution he should be fed on bread and water, and no person allowed to have access to him except the jailer, the chaplain, and the surgeon. It enacted, at the instance of Mr. Wakley, that medical men summoned to give evidence on Coroner's inquests should receive proper remuneration for their trouble, and that the Coroner should be empowered to call for additional medical evidence when required by the jury.

After the destruction of the old Houses of Parliament, a Commission was appointed to receive plans, by open competition, for the erection of new and suitable buildings. More than ninety plans were sent in, out of which the Commissioners selected four for further examination. In the end, pre-

ference was given to the plan of Mr. Barry and the recommendation of the Commissioners was now submitted to the House of Commons for approval. Mr. Hume proposed that the site should be changed to some more open and elevated spot, such as that occupied by St. James' Palace or Marlborough House; but the proposal was rejected by a large majority, as was a petition from the unsuccessful competitors, praying that they should either be heard by counsel at the bar of the House against the preference given by the Commissioners to Mr. Barry's plans as having been awarded on insufficient and contradictory grounds, or that competent persons should be appointed to examine the grounds of the Committee's report before any of the plans were finally adopted.

The proposal to admit ladies to hear the debates in the House of Commons was renewed by Mr. Grantley Berkeley, and was carried by 132 votes against 90. The members of the Government took opposite sides on the question, Lord Palmerston supporting, while Poulett Thomson and Hobhouse opposed it. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, though he had voted against the motion, proposed, in deference to the decision of the House, that the sum of £400 should be devoted to defray the expense of fitting up a portion of the Strangers' Gallery for the accommodation of the ladies. The Speaker was at last requested to deliver his opinion on the subject, and declared that he had 'come to a distinct and positive conviction that the measure was most undesirable.' In consequence of this emphatic statement, the proposal to make a part of the sum necessary to carry out the resolution of the House was rejected by a majority of forty-two votes against twenty-eight.

The flourishing state of the revenue enabled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to bring forward a most satisfactory budget. He had expected that the revenue would amount to £45,550,000, and it had yielded £46,380,000; and instead of an anticipated surplus of £835,000, he had the sum of £1,386,000 at his disposal. The most conspicuous feature of Spring Rice's budget was his proposal to reduce the tax on newspapers from 4*d.* to 1*d.* He at the same time resolved to alter the excise duty on paper, which was exceedingly unequal and invidious, and pressed with peculiar severity on the cheaper kind of paper on which many of the newspapers were printed. He proposed to abolish the distinction which had hitherto been made between the two classes of paper, and to levy a uniform duty of 14*s.* per cwt. These judicious proposals, it was seen at once, would be a great boon, not only to journalists and paper manufacturers, but especially to the poorer classes of the community, greatly diminishing as they did the taxes which had seriously impeded the progress of literature and the diffusion of knowledge.

These changes were cordially welcomed by the Liberals, but they excited great alarm and vehement opposition on the part of the Conservatives. The heavy tax on newspapers was avowedly imposed for the purpose of limiting their circulation to the upper and middle classes; and it was evident that the reduction of the impost would have the effect of vastly increasing their circulation among the poorer classes of the community. Sir Charles Knightley, one of the members for Northamptonshire, a unique specimen of the old English country gentleman, was therefore put up to propose a reduction of the duty on soap instead of the stamp duty on newspapers. He was zealously supported by Mr. Goulbourn, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer in Peel's Administration, and by Lord Sandon. They pleaded that the duty on soap not only pressed severely on the working classes, but pressed on them unequally in comparison with their more wealthy fellow-subjects—the soap of the poor man being taxed at seventy-five per cent., and that of the rich man at only thirty per cent. It was asserted that there were only 300,000 persons who took in news-

papers, while the soap duty was paid by the entire population of 15,000,000. The relief given to the public by reducing the tax on newspapers would be but one-twentieth part of a penny, while the relief afforded by abolishing the tax on soap would be 4½*d.*, or 3*d.* at least. It was contended that in all reductions of taxation the imposts should be retained that are burdens on luxuries, rather than those which affect the necessaries of life. The proposal to diminish the stamp duties instead of the soap duties was a violation of both these plain principles. It continued a tax on the necessaries of life, in preference to a tax on its luxuries and superfluities. Neither the farmers nor the growers had complained of the want of cheap newspapers, but all complained of the want of cheap soap. The poor, it was asserted, were not debarred by the stamp duty from reading newspapers, for in a coffee-shop they could have a cup of coffee and a sight of any newspaper published in London for 1½*d.*, being only half the price at which it would be possible to publish the newspapers even after the duty had been reduced. The poor man who paid for a newspaper would not be a gainer by the reduction; the publican would be a gainer and not his customers, the master of the family and not the servants and dependents to whom he lends the paper after he has read it himself.

The feeling which lay at the root of these objections was let out by Sir C. Knightley when he asserted that the reduction of the tax on soap would promote the health and comfort of the people, while the lowering of newspaper stamps would tend to introduce 'a cheap and profligate press, one of the greatest curses which could be inflicted on humanity.' Mr. Goulbourn was equally emphatic in his predictions as to the deteriorating influence which the reduction of the stamp duty was certain to exercise on the character of the press. 'The stamp duty,' he said, 'protects the editor of a London journal, who is compelled to incur enormous expenses in procuring parliamentary reports, in obtaining foreign intelligence, in anticipating the arrival of the post by expresses, and in having correspondents in every quarter of the world where matters of interest are going on, in order to provide the earliest and most correct information to the public. But the man who, to raise the character of his paper and to supply the public with the best and earliest information, went to all this expense, must be content to lower the tone of the public press by not giving the same amount of accurate intelligence, or he must carry on the contest with those who went to no expense at all. The result would be not only the ruin of the property of the newspaper proprietors or the destruction of their profits, but it would be something much more fatal to the general interests of the country; for the editors of the present respectable papers would not be able to compete with these predatory publications, and they would be compelled to forego that extent of information which was now so accurately given.'

It is curious and instructive to contrast these confident predictions as to the deterioration of the newspapers, which was expected as the result of the reduction of the stamp duty, with the actual effect of the abolition of the taxes on knowledge, not only as regards the amount of capital employed in the production of the daily journals, and the efforts put forth to obtain early and accurate intelligence from every quarter of the world, but especially in the greatly improved tone of the articles which the greater part of the newspapers of all grades contain. The answer given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the arguments of the Opposition proved eminently satisfactory both to the majority of the House and to the country. 'One reason,' he said, 'for preferring a reduction of the stamp duties to a reduction of the soap duties is, that the former is a diminishing and the latter an increasing duty. The quantity of soap bought in charge in 1831

was 109,000,000 lbs., and in 1833 was 133,000,000 lbs. The consumption of soft soap in the first of these years was 9,600,000 lbs., and in 1833 it was 12,103,000 lbs. But the stamp duties on newspapers, which in 1831 had yielded £483,000, yielded in 1835 only £455,000. Now it is a principle of finance that in reducing public imposts the comparative productiveness of different taxes should be kept in view. Besides, the soap duty has already been reduced one-half, while the stamp duty has been kept at its maximum. The loss to the revenue by the reduction of the soap duty would be twice the amount of loss that is anticipated from the reduction of the newspaper duty. Besides, when the improvements in the manufacture of soap and the reduced price of the alkalies are taken into account, along with the present low rate of duty, I do not think that this is an article which calls most pressingly for relief.

'On the other hand, the condition and consequences of the newspaper stamp duty call loudly for alteration, unless the disregard of the law is to be encouraged, and those who obey it are to be left without protection. The diminution which has taken place in the produce of these duties does not arise from any falling off in the education of the people, or in their anxiety for political information. Accordingly, any man would have expected that the revenue yielded by the newspapers would have increased. It is the tax that prevents the increase. Here, as in every other case, a duty raised above the legitimate amount leads to successful smuggling, and supplies the public demands without contributing to the public revenue. I am far from thinking that all the knowledge that it is desirable to circulate among the people is to be found in newspapers; but they are the means of diffusing political knowledge of a very important character. I entertain no apprehension of the consequences of facilitating the spread of this knowledge; but even if it were desirable to confine it to the present high-priced papers it would be impossible. In London and throughout England an active agency has been employed for the purpose of violating the law by circulating newspapers without a stamp. The total number of stamps taken in the United Kingdom is 36,000,000. On one occasion the officers of the stamp department seized an incomplete publication amounting to 40,000 sheets. This gave for a weekly paper 2,000,000 sheets per annum, being equal to one-eighteenth of the whole stamped press, and this was only a single instance. It is true that every sheet bears the printer's name, but it is often a false one. The law officers of the Crown have given their opinion that the existing law is wholly ineffectual to put down the evil. I believe that any attempt to cure the evil by increasing the severity of the law would be wholly ineffectual. I will not, however, as some desire, repeal the duty altogether, but bring it back from its present amount of fourpence to its original amount of one penny. This will equalize the whole of the press, raise its character, and enable parties who are anxious to give religious instruction to the people to combine it with knowledge of a political nature.'

The argument, founded on the failure of the efforts to suppress unstamped publications by the infliction of severe penalties, told powerfully on the House and on the country. The prosecutions of the law officers of the Crown were mainly directed, not against the printers or publishers of unstamped papers, but against the persons —frequently old men and children—who hawked them in the streets. During Earl Grey's administration alone between 400 and 500 individuals were imprisoned for this offence. These severities, while they utterly failed to suppress the evil complained of, excited a strong and general feeling against a law which was not competent to reach the principal offenders and inflicted its penalties only on the poor and ignorant.

Spring Rice carried his proposals in the Commons by a majority of 241 votes to

208. No opposition was made to the Bill by the Lords, but they struck out the clause which required all the proprietors of every newspaper to be registered. As the Commons regarded any amendment on a money bill as a violation of their privileges, the measure was dropped, and a new Bill, similar in all respects to the original measure, except that it did not contain the clause to which the peers had objected, was brought in and rapidly carried through both Houses without opposition. The reduction of the stamp duty had the effect of doubling the circulation of the newspapers in the course of four or five years, but it was not until the duty was entirely abrogated that the full benefit of the abolition of the 'taxes on knowledge' reached the lower classes of society, and diffused among them sound information on political questions.

A session in which such reforms had been carried out could not be justly regarded as barren of beneficial results, but these measures were to some extent lost sight of in consequence of the failure of the ministerial proposals for remedying the grievances of the people of Ireland, and removing several abuses existing in England. The Irish Tithe Bill and the Irish Corporation Bill had been so grievously mutilated by the Lords that they had been thrown aside by the Commons. A bill for making some technical amendments on the English Municipal Act had been thrown out by the Lords in the mere wantonness of power. A bill to place the estates of public charities under elected managers had also been rejected by the peers because it made Dissenters eligible as trustees of these endowments. And yet, at the close of the session, Lyndhurst had the effrontery to taunt the Ministry with the loss of measures which his party, under his own guidance, had thrown out. 'Was there ever,' he said, 'in the history of this country a body of men who would have condescended so low as to attempt to carry on the Government under such circumstances? In this House they are utterly powerless, they can effect nothing. Yet thus disgraced and trampled upon, they still condescend to hold the reins of Government.'

Lord Melbourne was not disposed to allow such an attack to pass unanswered, and it roused him to make what has been called 'the happiest and ablest speech of his life,' in which the weak points of his adversary's character were assailed with merited severity.

'I cordially admit,' he said, 'the great power and eloquence of the noble and learned lord. His clearness in argument and dexterity in sarcasm no one can deny; and if he will be satisfied with a compliment confined strictly to ability, I am ready to render him that homage. But ability is not everything; propriety of conduct, the *verecundia* should be combined with the *ingenium*, to make a great man and a statesman. It is not enough to be *duræ frontis perditæ audacia*. The noble and learned lord has referred to several historical characters to whom he has been pleased to say that I have some resemblance. I beg in return to remind him of what once was said by Lord Bristol of a great statesman of former times (the Earl of Strafford), to whom, I think, the noble and learned lord might not inapplicably be compared. "The malignity of his practices was largely aggravated by his vast talents, whereof God had given him the use, but the devil the application.'" Lord Melbourne then went through the Bills which the peers at Lyndhurst's instigation had factiously defeated—the Registration of Voters Bill, the Post Office Bill, and the Catholic Marriages Bill—though they had been agreed to by their own party in the House of Commons, and then concluded thus:—'The noble and learned lord kindly advises me to resign, notwithstanding his own great horror of taking office after his ambition is already so fully satisfied. But I will tell the noble and learned lord that I will not be accessory to the sacrifice of himself which he would be ready to make if the burthen of the Great Seal were again forced

upon him. I conscientiously believe that the well-being of the country requires, in the judgment of the people, that I should hold my present office, and hold it I will, until I am constitutionally removed from it.'

The unscrupulous manner in which the Tory peers threw out bills which were admittedly good and necessary, was only one of the many difficulties with which Melbourne had to contend at the present moment. The nomination of Dr. Hampden to the office of Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford was violently opposed by the High Church party, who accused him of holding heterodox opinions, which he had set forth in his Bampton Lectures; but Melbourne held that the charge was unfounded, and refused to cancel the appointment.* He greatly disliked patronage, and used to declare at this time, when it 'rained garters and crosiers,' and there seemed to be an epidemic among prelates, deans, and judges, that 'as for the bishops he positively believed they died to vex him.' Though he got no credit for it among the Tory clergy the Premier laboured most conscientiously to seek out useful and unobjectionable men for the Episcopate, and gave the preference to tolerant and enlightened clergymen, provided they were faithful and efficient churchmen, over those who in his opinion were less worthy of promotion though they were firmly attached to the Liberal party. 'I am continually subjected to the reproach,' he said, 'of having disposed of more ecclesiastical patronage than any other Minister within so short a period, and of having so managed as neither to secure one steady personal friend, nor one firm supporter of my own principles and opinions.' One of the bishops, whom he had shortly before appointed in opposition to the remonstrances of some of his supporters, on apologizing for having voted against the Church Rates Bill, says, 'I know and feel that you have been reproached for what I may be permitted to call the generous and disinterested line of conduct which has led you to extend your patronage to those whose political opinions are not in entire accordance with your own, and that I am at this moment in the enjoyment of comparative ease and honour by reason of that disinterestedness.'

The Ministerial sky was at this time heavily overcast indeed; and the Established clergy were among the fiercest assailants of the Government. Exeter Hall rang with invectives against men who were kept in office by the votes of Roman Catholics; and the Protestant religion was alleged to be in imminent danger from a combination of godless Radicals and Popish emissaries, while at the same time those Radical members of Parliament were criticising the Ministry with unsparing severity on account of their refusal to adopt measures which, however good or desirable in themselves, they could not have carried even in the Lower House, much less in the Lords. 'At the opening of the session of 1837,' says Sydney Smith, 'this was the state of our intended changes:—The Law of Copyright was to be re-created by Sergeant Talfourd, church rates abolished by Lord John Russell, and imprisonment for debt by the Attorney-General; the Archbishop of Canterbury kindly undertook to destroy all the cathedrals, and Mr. Grote was to arrange our voting by ballot; the Septennial Act was to be repealed by Mr. Williams, Corn Laws abolished by Mr. Clay, and the House of Lords reformed by Mr. Ward; Mr. Hume remodelled county rates, Mr. Ewart put an end to primogeniture, and Mr. Tooke took away the exclusive privileges of Dublin, Oxford, and Cambridge; Thomas Duncombe was to put an end to the proxies of the Lords, and Sergeant Prime to turn the universities topsy-turvy. Well may it be said that "Man never continueth in one stay."' A good many years had to elapse before any of these projected reforms were carried, and a

* Greville says the pamphlet written against Hampden 'contains no grave matter, and nothing to support an accusation of heterodoxy. If he had been a Tory instead of a Liberal, we should probably have heard nothing of the matter.'

number of them are still unaccomplished; but the Ministry were as violently assailed for their refusal to take them up at once, as if Lord Melbourne had only to say the word and they would straightway be adopted.

A great commercial crisis which occurred at this time added to the embarrassments of the Administration, and brought deep distress upon the country. About the beginning of April of this year Ministers were urged to impose some check on the continued outflow of gold from the Bank, owing to an apprehension that a panic might suddenly supervene upon the great expansion of trade and the unprecedented extent of joint-stock speculation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had great fears on the subject, which were shared by the Premier, who wrote his colleague, 'I think it hardly possible that the present rise of prices and consequent prosperity is all sound. If the Bank holds its hand now, there will probably be considerable revulsion and ruin, though less than at a future period; but we shall have to bear the whole blame of being the authors of the national distress, and many will say that we have brought it about quite wantonly and unnecessarily.' These apprehensions, however, were shared by few. A succession of abundant harvests, and a great expansion of trade, rendered food abundant and prices high, and filled the national treasury to overflowing. Joint-stock speculation, especially in banking, ran more and more wild. Warnings now began to be given respecting the drain of gold, which had set in from all parts of Europe; but they were unheeded. Till April the Bank rate of interest did not exceed 3½ per cent., and it was not until some months later, when the stock of bullion in the Bank of England had fallen to £5,000,000, that the rate of discount was advanced to 4 per cent.

A bad harvest, the bursting of the bubble companies, and numerous failures both in England and the United States, the result of over-trading, too fatally realized the prescient misgivings of the Prime Minister in the beginning of the year, though many circumstances which could not have been anticipated contributed to extend and deepen the financial embarrassment and general distress that ensued. Spring Rice's warning to the Governor of the Bank of England to restrict the system of loans and advances was left unheeded too long; and when the anticipated commercial storm and panic came, the effect was disastrous in the extreme. Spring Rice, like Cassio, was 'a great arithmetician;' but the moneyed interest did not estimate highly his financial abilities. He had an unlimited command of figures to prove the accuracy of his estimates and the wisdom of his measures, but the London bankers regarded him as quite unequal to the important office which he held. Pattison, the Governor of the Bank of England, Grote, Glyn, and Roberts, the most eminent bankers in the city, were successively consulted by him in this emergency; and they had all expressed the same opinion and had given the same advice, that he should raise the interest on Exchequer bills. But he 'met these conclusions with a long chain of reasoning, founded upon the most fallacious premisses, columns of prices and stocks, and exchequer bills in former years, and calculations and conjectures upon these data, which the keen view and sagacious foresight of these men (whose wits are sharpened by the magnitude of their immediate interest in the results, and whose long habits make them so familiar with the details) detected and exposed, not without some feelings both of resentment and contempt for the Minister who clung to his own theories in preference to their practical conclusions.' The Chancellor was ultimately compelled to follow their advice, but his reluctance to do so was not inexcusable; for, as it was remarked at the time, like all expedients of the kind, it was open to the objection that it must work partially, and in many cases profitably, to those who stood in least

need of extraordinary aid from the State, while the aid must confessedly be furnished at the expense of the whole community. Melbourne himself said 'the throwing away £200,000 or £300,000 of the public money is often very little thought of; whilst, on the contrary, inconveniencing and discontenting the moneyed men, creates a clamour as shrill and as unappeasable as does the killing of a pig.' 'Nothing is so violent,' he added, 'as the moneyed interest in difficulties, nothing so loud; and it is often, in my opinion, politic to commit a little extravagance in order to relieve them.'

Thus surrounded with difficulties on all sides, gathering closer and closer around them, the days of the Melbourne Administration seemed to be numbered, and some even of its own members were of opinion that their resignation could not be much longer delayed. 'Even quiet and courageous Lord Melbourne,' says Hobhouse, 'began to give way.' 'He had long had doubts,' he said, 'whether it was right and becoming to go on with the Government in our present condition. There was an immense majority against us in the Lords; and the English constituencies, so far as we knew, were against us—the Court decidedly hostile—and nothing but an insignificant majority in the Commons in our favour; and even there it was only on doubtful and unpopular questions that we outnumbered our opponents. Lord Melbourne said a man must have the patience of an ass to stand against such odds. . . . Lord Lansdowne said to me privately that if the Lords carried a vote of want of confidence, he for one would resign. He thought they would not propose that vote, because they were afraid of putting themselves in the wrong. Lord Holland also expressed his doubts as to the propriety of going on much longer against the House of Lords, especially if we lost any more elections in large communities.'

In these disheartening circumstances the session of 1836 ended.

CHAPTER XII.

State of the Country at the opening of the Session of 1837—'No Surrender' policy of the Tories—The Irish Municipal Bill vehemently opposed by them—Their defeat in the Commons—Shiel's attack on Lyndhurst—Church Rates Bill—Opposed by the Bishops and Clergy and withdrawn—The Irish Tithe Bill—Sir Francis Burdett and the Westminster Election—Attacks on the new Poor Law Bill by Mr. Walter of the *Times* and Mr. Harvey—Committee appointed to inquire into its operation—Favourable result—Critical State of the Melbourne Ministry—Illness and Death of King William—His Character—Great improvements made during his reign—Accession of the Princess Victoria—Her early history and training—Her first Council—Separation of the Kingdom of Hanover from Britain—Character of the Duke of Cumberland—His arbitrary conduct on ascending the Hanoverian Throne—Close of the Session of Parliament—The Queen's Speech.

THE year 1837 commenced with gloomy prospects, both for the country and the Ministry. The commercial crisis had produced wide-spread ruin among manufacturers and merchants, and want of employment and great suffering among the working classes. Agitation was renewed with redoubled energy by both political parties, and public meetings were held, at which the views held by each were advocated with marked ability and not a little violence. Ireland, as usual, was in a state of great excitement. On the one hand, a National Association was formed by the Repealers and Radicals, avowedly for the purpose of promoting the return of members favourable to their views—'the rousing of the millions of Ireland,' as Shiel said, 'and a development of the might which slumbers in her arm'—and with its skilful arrangements, its regular meetings, its local auxiliaries, and its 'justice-rent,' was a most formidable body, and excited great alarm. On the other hand, the Tories and Orangemen held a meeting in Dublin, attended by 3500 persons, including no less than thirty Irish peers and a considerable number of members of Parliament, who passed a series of violent resolutions denouncing the conduct of the Irish Government and the proceedings of the Association. Their watchword was 'No surrender,' and they adopted as their policy the advice of Sir Harcourt Lees, 'Put your trust in God, still revere your king, and keep your powder dry.' In these inauspicious circumstances the session of 1837 was opened by commission on the 31st of January.

It was evident from the king's speech that Irish questions were once more mainly to occupy the attention of Parliament. The Bill for the reform of the Irish Corporations was again introduced on the 7th of February by the Home Secretary, who intimated that it was a vital question to the present Administration. It was read a second time on the 17th without opposition — almost without discussion; but on the motion for going into committee the Opposition repeated their most unwise and unreasonable tactics, and Lord Francis Egerton again proposed that the existing municipalities should be abolished, that arrangements should be made for the administration of justice by sheriffs and magistrates appointed by the Crown, and that the local affairs of the inhabitants should be managed by commissioners appointed by the Government. These proposals, which simply meant that the people of Ireland were to be deprived of the last relics of self-government, were essentially wrong in principle and most mischievous in the effect which they were fitted to produce on that miserable and misgoverned country. In vain was it pointed out that 'local assemblies of citizens constitute the strength of free nations; that town meetings are to liberty what primary schools are to science—they bring it within the people's reach, they teach men to use and enjoy it; that a nation may enjoy a system of free government, but

without the spirit of municipal institutions it cannot have the spirit of liberty.' Here, it was said, 'is the straight road to the redemption of Ireland. Every one knows that her natural resources are abundant for the wants of her inhabitants, if only her inhabitants knew how to use them. This is the way to teach them—this is the way to call out and increase such public virtue as exists. It is not by an "affectionate despotism," but a training to self-government, that the Irish must be redeemed. A people unaccustomed to freedom in local affairs can never learn to use it properly in national affairs. Political principle and knowledge can be obtained only through political training. The proposal to abolish the municipalities of Ireland was, therefore, virtually an attempt to deprive the people of Ireland of all training for their public duties. Free municipal institutions were in reality much more necessary in Ireland than in either England or Scotland, and without them it was impossible that Ireland could be identified with the sister kingdoms in her political privileges and fortunes.'

Such considerations as these, however, had no influence with the Tory party. It was clearly impossible to maintain longer the ascendency of the Orange and Protestant minority in the Irish municipalities, and they were therefore determined to prevent the Roman Catholics from enjoying the rights which belong to a majority. The signal defeat which they met with on this question in the previous session might have convinced them of their mistake. They encountered a more serious reverse on this renewal of their attempt. In 1836 they were defeated on this question by 307 votes to 243. In 1837 the votes against them increased to 322, while they mustered only 242.

This victory contributed not a little to strengthen the Government. Greville says the debate was exceedingly feeble on the part of the Opposition, and they were prodigiously depressed at the defeat. 'Stanley, Graham, and Peel successively spoke, and none of them well; the latter was unusually heavy.' The best speeches on the other side were Charles Buller's, Roebuck's, and Lord Howick's. It was on this occasion that Shiel delivered his famous reply to Lyndhurst's taunt, during the debate on the Corporation Bill, that the Irish were 'aliens in blood, in language, and in religion.' Lyndhurst was afterwards severely and deservedly punished for this most impolitic and offensive attack upon the Irish people. It was repeatedly referred to in the House of Lords, when he made a feeble, and not quite honest attempt to explain away the statement. It so happened that Lyndhurst was sitting under the gallery of the House of Commons during the debate on the Irish Corporation Bill, and Shiel availed himself of the opportunity to repay him for the insult he had offered to his countrymen. Shiel's first mention of the word 'aliens,' uttered with the strongest emphasis, elicited the most tremendous burst of cheering from the Ministerial side of the House. 'The obnoxious expression,' he said, 'had never been disavowed. He was only surprised that the Duke of Wellington had not started up and said, that these aliens had done their duty.' 'The Duke,' he went on to say, 'is not a man of sudden emotions; but he ought not to have forgotten Vimiera, and Badajos, and Salamanca, and Toulouse, and the last and glorious conflict which crowned all his former victories. On that day when the destinies of mankind were trembling in the balance, when the batteries spread slaughter over the field, and the legions of France rushed again and again to the onset, did the *aliens* then flinch? On that day the blood of the men of England, and Ireland, and Scotland was poured forth together; they fought on the same field; they died the same death; they were stretched on the same spot; their dust was commingled; the same dew of heaven fell on the earth that covered them; the same grass sprung from the soil in which they reposed together; and is it to be endured that we should be called aliens and strangers

to that empire for whose salvation our best blood was shed?'

The orator, on uttering this fervid appeal turned and waved his hand to the spot where the author of the obnoxious phrase was sitting; the majority of the members stood up, and turning towards Lyndhurst raised such a tumultuous and enthusiastic cheering as had never before been heard within the walls of the House, and ten minutes elapsed before the Speaker succeeded in moderating the clamour. All this time Lyndhurst to all appearance sat totally unmoved, without changing a muscle of his countenance; but there can be no doubt that he felt keenly the grievous blunder of which he had been guilty, and the storm of indignation which it had brought down upon him.

The dejection of the Tories at their signal defeat on the Corporation Bill was somewhat relieved by the division on the measure for the abolition of church rates, which they regarded as equivalent to a victory. The Dissenters had long complained that they were assessed for the support of the buildings belonging to a church with which they had no connection. The Ministry of Earl Grey admitted the justice of their complaint; and Lord Althorp brought in a Bill which provided for the abolition of the obnoxious impost, and proposed to appropriate the sum of £250,000 out of the land tax for the support of the fabrics of the church throughout the kingdom. The measure met with the approval of Dr. Lushington and some of the moderate Dissenters; but the others would admit of no compromise, and insisted on their right to be entirely exempted from the payment of church rates. The Bill was in consequence laid aside. The Government now resolved to make another attempt to settle this troublesome question, and to put an end to the unseemly and angry disputes which in many places were caused by the proposal to levy an assessment for ecclesiastical purposes on persons of every variety of religious opinion. Their scheme, which was brought on by Spring Rice on the 3rd of March, was to vest the management of the church lands in an Ecclesiastical Commission of eleven members, who it was expected, by means of a better system of leasing and by abolishing fines, would obtain a sufficient sum of money which, with the aid of pew rents, would render church rates unnecessary. A plan of a similar kind had been adopted in Ireland for the purpose of getting rid of church cess; and as the saving thus effected was to be appropriated exclusively to ecclesiastical purposes, the Ministers seem to have expected that it would be approved, or at least not opposed, by the church. They speedily found that their expectations were to be disappointed. The clergy could not see why the church should be deprived of a fund which yielded £250,000 a year; they were by no means sure that the church lands, after providing adequate salaries for the bishops, would realize a sum sufficient to provide for the repairs of all the churches in the kingdom; and they were especially hostile to any concessions to Dissenters in regard to ecclesiastical rights and privileges.

On the 12th of March, fifteen bishops held a meeting at Lambeth Palace, and resolved to protest against the measure. While the Bill was under discussion in the House of Commons, the bishops, as Greville said, 'had a grand *flare-up* in the House of Lords. The Archbishop of Canterbury [Howley], with as much venom as so mild a man can muster, attacked the Bill. Melbourne replied with some asperity; and the Bishop of London [Blomfield] returned fiercely upon him, denouncing the measure as "sacrilegious spoliation."' The Tories lauded and the Whigs abused the bishops, both vehemently. The old cry of the "church in danger" was once more raised, and with considerable effect. The supporters of the church's claims mustered strong even in the House of Commons; and after a debate which lasted four nights, the resolutions proposed

by the Ministry were adopted by only 273 votes to 250. When the resolutions were reported the majority had dwindled down to five; they were carried by only 287 votes to 282. As it was evident that a measure supported by so small a majority could not be forced even through the Commons, the Government were compelled to abandon the Bill; but Lord John Russell covered their retreat by proposing and carrying a motion that a committee should be appointed 'to inquire into the present mode of holding and leasing the property belonging to bishops and chapters, with a view to ascertaining the probable amount of any increased value that might be obtained by an improved management, with a due consideration of the interests of the Established Church and of the present lessees of such property.' *

The Irish Municipal Bill, however, was carried triumphantly through the House of Commons, and was read a third time on the 11th of April by a majority of 302 votes to 247. The Tory Peers could not venture summarily to reject a Bill which had been approved of by the public as well as by a decided majority of the House of Commons; but they adopted the unprecedented expedient of getting rid of it by successive postponements, under the plea that they wished to see what course the Government intended to take with regard to the Irish Tithe Bill and the Irish Poor Law Bill. This was a mere pretence, for the proposals of the Ministry with regard to both measures had been already fully explained to the Commons. Some of the Radical members of the Lower House urged the Ministers in these circumstances to withdraw the Tithe Bill, but they resolved to go on with their measures. 'It is better,' said Russell, 'that we should wait and see whether we have mistaken the intentions of our opponents, instead of taking that decided course which it would afterwards be shown we were not justified in pursuing.'

The new Tithe Bill contained the principle of the appropriation clause, but in a novel form. It proposed that a tax of ten per cent. should be levied on the incomes of all future bishops, dignitaries, and beneficed clergymen, and devoted to the purpose of general education in Ireland. An old Act of Parliament, passed in the reign of Henry VIII., required every incumbent in an Irish parish to keep, or cause to be kept, a school in which English should be taught. The archbishops and bishops were bound to require every incumbent at the time of his ordination to take oath that he would yield obedience to the Act, and heavy penalties were imposed both on bishops and clergymen who were guilty of a breach of this statute. The Act had been a dead letter, but it was now proposed to revive and bring it into active operation. The Tithe Bill containing this provision was read a second time on the 9th of June, but made no further progress. Various indications had already been given that the country had become indifferent to the fate of the Melbourne Ministry, and at this juncture an unexpected election contest in Westminster seemed to show that the electors even of that Radical borough were dissatisfied with the policy of the Government. Sir Francis Burdett, who had represented Westminster about thirty years, and was originally a Radical reformer of the most extreme type,

* The consternation which this proposal excited among the clergy is described by Sydney Smith with inimitable drollery in his 'Second Letter to Archdeacon Singleton.' 'Frequently did Lord John meet the destroying bishops; much did he commend their daily heap of ruins; sweetly did they smile upon each other, and much charming talk was there of meteorology and catarrh and the particular cathedral they were pulling down; till one fine day the Home Secretary, with a voice more bland and a look more ardently affectionate than that which the masculine mouse bestows on his nibbling female, informed them that the Government meant to take all the church property into their own hands, to pay the rates out of it, and deliver the residue to the rightful possessors. Such an effect, they say, was never before produced by a *coup de theatre*. The Commission was separated in an instant; London clenched his fist; Canterbury was hurried out by his chaplains and put into a warm bed; a solemn vacancy spread itself over the face of Gloucester; Lincoln was taken out in strong hysterics. What a noble scene Sergeant Talfourd would have made of this! Why are such talents wasted on *Ion* and *The Athenian Captive?*'

had, ever since the passing of the Reform Bill, been lukewarm in his attachment to Liberal principles, and in his support of the Ministry. He had absented himself from all the great party divisions which had recently taken place in the House of Commons, and was currently reported to have taken his seat in the 'Derby Dilly,' beside Stanley and Graham. Some of his constituents, who were dissatisfied with his conduct, called upon him to resign his seat on the 24th of April, and the same day the old Radical at once indignantly complied with their request, offering himself, however, for re-election as the opponent of 'an unnatural alliance, an odious yet ludicrous combination of Irish agitators, Popish priests, and paid patriots, operating upon a well-intentioned but weak and vacillating Administration.' Mr. Leader, member for Bridgewater, resigned his seat, in order that he might contest Westminster against Burdett. The Tories withdrew their own candidate, Sir George Murray, and employed all their efforts on behalf of the ex-Radical baronet. The struggle was very keen. The general impression at first was that Leader would win; but the show of hands was in Burdett's favour, and he was returned by a majority of 515. The result was regarded as a great triumph to the Conservative cause, and a great disappointment to the Whigs, and still more to the Radicals. Melbourne, however, said he was not very sorry that Burdett had got in; for the Radicals were already very difficult to manage, and had they carried this election there would be no doing anything with them. Earl Grey expressed the sentiments of moderate Liberals when he said 'he was glad at Leader's defeat and sorry for Burdett's success.' *

Various unsuccessful efforts were made to effect important changes in the constitution—to shorten the duration of Parliament, to abolish the property qualification of members, to introduce vote by ballot, to exclude bishops from the House of Lords, and to make other organic alterations; but neither the Legislature nor the country were at this time favourably inclined towards further constitutional innovations. A strenuous attempt was even made to undo in part the reforms which had been effected by the new Poor Law. That measure, as we have seen, was imperatively required in order to arrest the progress of a system which was rapidly absorbing, not merely the resources of charity, but the fruits of productive industry; and while threatening the ruin of the landed proprietors and the farmers, was increasing the degradation and misery of the labouring classes themselves. The new law had already enormously diminished the amount of the rates and the number of able-bodied paupers, and had at least made a commencement in improving the habits and feelings of the agricultural labourers; but at the same time, like all great and sudden social changes, it had been productive, to those who had been brought up under the old system, of not a little individual suffering, which was a good deal aggravated by the distress caused by an unusually long and severe winter. A great clamour was in consequence raised against the new Act, and especially against the regulation which prohibited out-door relief. Numerous meetings were held in various parts of the country, at which violent speeches were delivered and corresponding resolutions adopted against the 'bastilles,' as the work-houses were termed, and the proceedings of the Poor Law Commissioners. Ultra Tories united with ultra Radicals in the agitation for a relaxation of the system; and Colonel Sibthorp, the extreme Tory member for Eye, and Mr. Daniel Whittle Harvey, the extreme Radical member for Southwark, combined in stigmatizing the new Poor Law as one of the most cruel,

* Sir Francis gave occasion about this time to one of Lord John Russell's most felicitous retorts. With very questionable taste the ex-Radical in one of his speeches spoke of the cant of patriotism. Lord John, in his reply, quietly remarked that the *cant* of patriotism was bad, but the *recant* of patriotism was a great deal worse.

heartless, relentless, and selfish Bills that was ever enacted. Mr. Walter, the proprietor of the *Times*, took a prominent part in the agitation against the new system, and the incessant attacks of that influential journal contributed not a little to fan the flame of discontent.

Mr. Walter brought the question before the House of Commons by moving, 'That a select committee be appointed to inquire into the operation of the Poor Law Amendment Act, and to report their opinion to the House.' Lord John Russell objected that such an inquiry, if it were not intended to propose a repeal of the Act, would be vague and desultory; and he moved as an amendment that 'a select committee be appointed to inquire into the administration of the relief of the poor under the orders and regulations issued by the commissioners appointed under the provisions of the Poor Law Amendment Act.' In supporting this amendment, Russell said 'his only difficulty was to compress within any moderate compass the voluminous mass of evidence with which he had been furnished from persons of all classes—from noblemen, landowners, clergymen, farmers, and labourers—all tending in the strongest manner to show the great advantages that had resulted from the measure. This had been especially the case with regard to the employment of the workhouse system as a test of destitution. In East Kent, formerly one of the most pauperized districts of the country, out of 160,000 inhabitants, fifty-five has been the maximum of able-bodied labourers in the workhouses at the same time. But it was said to be cruel to force the disabled and the infirm into the workhouse. The degree and manner in which this has been done is no doubt a very proper subject of inquiry with the committee. In the meanwhile, however, he could refer to returns which had been received from eighty-eight Unions, showing that the number of in-door paupers is 8850, while the number of out-door paupers is 54,417. In these eighty-nine Unions nine-tenths of the disabled and infirm receive out-door relief. This then is the working of that "cruel system" which is represented as driving every disabled and poor person into prison. But while he made this statement, he did not dissemble his belief that when the new system has been brought into full operation out-door relief will be entirely abolished, except in cases of sickness; and he thought that it ought not to constitute a permanent part of the system.

'With regard to the kind of relief afforded in the workhouses. From the return of the Easting Union it appears, that whereas the amount of annual payments for bastardy was formerly £300, there is now no instance of a charge on that account. The amount of poor rates collected for the year ending March, 1835, was £16,900; the amount collected for the year ending December, 1836, was £8965. The diet of the inmates of the workhouses is ample, wholesome, and substantial; the medical attendance prompt and considerate; the clothing suitable; and the moral and religious improvement duly attended to. The children of both sexes are reared and duly trained in a manner far surpassing that enjoyed by the children of independent labourers.'

Lord John Russell's amendment was supported by Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Hume, and after a debate which was protracted over two nights, was adopted without a division, and the Committee entered upon the inquiry intrusted to them.

Mr. Walter, who was a member of the Committee, very soon saw that its inquiries and the evidence adduced were not likely to serve his purpose, and proposed that other six members of his nomination should be added to the Committee. On the refusal of this extraordinary request he intimated his intention to withdraw from it, as soon as the Union then under consideration should have been concluded. Mr. Harvey, who had also been placed on the Committee in the first instance, adopted

the highly improper course of publishing the evidence as it was taken day by day in a paper called the *True Sun*, of which he was proprietor. He, too, subsequently withdrew from the Committee, denouncing it as partial and one-sided. The remaining members continued their investigations, and made their report shortly before the close of the session. They expressed their conviction that the introduction of the new Poor Law had been attended with a considerable improvement in the character and condition of the poor—that more employment had been given to the agricultural labourers, that their morals and conduct had been improved, and that they had become more provident and more anxious to get and to keep their places. It was admitted that labourers, and widows with large families under age for work, felt severely the loss of the allowances they had before been accustomed to receive; but their sufferings had been generally alleviated by the considerate measures adopted by the guardians. Upon the whole, the Committee were decidedly of opinion that the operation of the law was satisfactory and ought to be maintained, and that the administration of the system, both by the Board of Guardians and by the Poor Law Commissioners, had been in the main judicious; but they recommended that the inquiry should be resumed next session, and indicated certain points to which they thought that attention should be directed.

The position of the Melbourne Administration had become more and more embarrassing as the session advanced. They were unable to carry those measures for the relief of Ireland, on which they had staked their existence. The whole machinery of legislation had been brought to a dead stop by the obstructive proceedings of the Tory Peers. Radicals and Tories concurred in the cry that the country was without a Government. It appeared certain, even in the eyes of their friends, that their resignation could not be much longer postponed. But when their downfall appeared inevitable, an event occurred which had the effect of prolonging their existence for four years.

William IV. was now in the seventy-second year of his age, and his family had for some time observed that he was aging rapidly and his strength declining. In May his medical attendants alleged that he was suffering from hay-fever, a complaint to which he had frequently been subject; but it soon appeared that he laboured under some affection of the heart. His weakness continued to increase; he was obliged to be seated at the levee on the 17th, and on the 20th he had a fainting fit. He was able to hold a Council on the 27th, but had to be wheeled in a chair into the Council room, as he could no longer walk. On the 9th of June the first bulletin was issued, and the country was made aware that the king was in imminent danger. He continued to transact business, however, and though fully conscious of his situation he was calm and even cheerful. On the 15th it became generally known that his recovery was hopeless; and though the disease appeared next day to have taken a favourable turn, on the 18th the unfavourable symptoms returned in an aggravated form. He had prayers read very frequently during his illness, and on the 19th the sacrament was administered to him by the Archbishop of Canterbury. On the morning of the 20th of June the tolling of the muffled bell of St. Paul's announced to the citizens of London that the king had died during the night.

The eulogies heaped upon the departed monarch by the leaders of both parties in Parliament were exaggerated and indiscriminate, and ultimately served rather to injure than to exalt his character. Lord Melbourne lamented that he and his colleagues had been deprived of a most gracious master, and that the world had lost a man of the best intentions, the most uncompromising honour, and the strictest integrity. He praised the late sovereign's

talents for business, his practical acquaintance with the principles and details of public affairs, and his assiduity and industry; and declared that he was 'as fair, just, and conscientious a man as ever existed, always willing to listen to any argument even though opposed to his own previous feeling—a sterling quality in any man, but peculiarly good, sterling, and valuable in a monarch.' The Duke of Wellington spoke of 'the firmness, candour, justice, and true spirit of conciliation' of the deceased sovereign. Earl Grey went even farther in his panegyric, and declared that 'a man more sincerely devoted to the interests of his country—that a man who had a better understanding of what was necessary to the furtherance of these interests, that a man who was more patient in considering all the circumstances connected with those interests, that a man who was more attentive to his duty on every occasion—never did exist. If ever a sovereign deserved the character, it might truly be affirmed of William IV. that he was a patriot king.' Lord Brougham, who was more moderate, though still cordial in his encomiums, dwelt largely on the glorious, beneficent, and auspicious attributes of the late king's reign. In the Lower House Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel echoed the sentiments of the leaders of the Ministry and the Opposition in the House of Lords.

It was not unnatural, in the circumstances of the case, that the eminent individuals who had held high office under the deceased monarch should speak of him in such exaggerated terms of commendation; but even those who, like Greville, have expressed a depreciatory opinion of his character, admit that William was 'a good-natured, kind-hearted, and well-meaning man,' and that he 'always acted an honourable and straightforward, if not always a sound and discreet part.' The late sovereign's natural abilities were good, but his education had been very imperfect. He became a midshipman in 1779, at the age of fourteen, and in 1786 received a captain's commission. His insubordination to the rules and orders of the Admiralty made it necessary that he should be withdrawn from the active exercise of his profession, and after the year 1790 he was left without active employment. In 1791 he formed a connection with Mrs. Jordan, the celebrated actress, who lived with him virtually as his wife for twenty years, and bore him ten children — five sons and five daughters. From an early period he showed a partiality for the Whig party, and supported the Ministry of 'All the Talents' in 1806. After the death of the Princess Charlotte, in 1818, had opened up to him a probable succession to the throne, the Prince, who had been created in 1789 Duke of Clarence and St. Andrews, and Earl of Munster, married the eldest daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen; but the two daughters whom she bore to him both died in infancy. In 1827 he was appointed Lord High Admiral under the Canning Administration; but shortly after the resignation of Lord Goderich, Canning's successor, his Royal Highness was compelled by the Duke of Wellington to resign his office. The death of George IV., in 1830, raised the Duke of Clarence to the throne at a most critical period in the history of the country; and there can be no doubt that his personal popularity and liberal opinions contributed not a little to carry the throne and the Government safely through that perilous epoch. His political principles, however, were not intelligent or stable; and in no long time, as we have seen, his own timidity and weakness, and the influence of his queen and family, induced him to give all his countenance and support to the Conservative party. His opposition to reforms which the great body of the people regarded as necessary, and his uncourteous and perverse behaviour towards the Ministers whom the people had compelled him to restore to office, greatly impaired his popularity and his influence. He was, however, a kind and faithful husband, and a warm and

generous friend, and was always ready to give liberal assistance to those who had any claims on his bounty; and though he was undignified in his demeanour and conversation, his harmless eccentricities did not detract from the kindly feeling with which the 'Sailor King,' as he was termed, was generally regarded by his subjects.

The reign of William IV., though not memorable from the personal qualities of the sovereign, stands out with special prominence in the history of our country on account of the important legislative measures which it witnessed. Though it lasted only seven years, more momentous changes were during its continuance carried out in the constitution of the country than had taken place since the Revolution of 1688. The Parliamentary representation of the people had been freed from the gross abuses which disfigured and degraded it, and placed upon a sound and natural basis. A reform scarcely less necessary and important had been effected in the municipal corporations of England and Scotland. Slavery, with all its attendant cruelties and abominations, had been abolished at the expense of the nation by which it had been so long tolerated. The system of pauperism, which was destructive to the industry, forethought, and honesty of the labourers, to the wealth and morality of the employers of labour and of the owners of property, had been at length reformed. Tithes had been commuted, to the inexpressible relief both of the tithe-owner and the tithe-payer. The grievances under which Dissenters laboured in regard to their marriages and the registration of their births and burials were redressed, and sectarian distinctions so far abolished. The physical and mental evils produced by the prolonged labour of children in factories had been remedied. The excessive severities of the penal code had been mitigated; prisoners under trial for felony were allowed the benefit of counsel to address the jury on their behalf; needless cruelties inflicted on the criminal condemned to death were done away with. The list of capital offences was step by step abridged, till it contained no more than seven. The annual number of sentences of death pronounced in the criminal courts was at the close of King William's reign less than one-fourth what it had been at its commencement; and the number sentenced to banishment for life was reduced in the same proportion. The heavy taxes which had restricted the circulation of newspapers and the diffusion of literature were greatly reduced, and the growing thirst for political and general information was thus vastly strengthened. The reform of the Court of Chancery, which, with its cumbrous and antiquated arrangements, its endless delays, and its enormous expense, had ruined the fortunes and broken the hearts of many thousands, was one of the most important boons conferred upon the country during William's reign. The vicious and wretched system had been often denounced in indignant terms by the sufferers; but, defended as it was by the whole official legal staff from Lord Chancellor Eldon downwards, it bade defiance to its assailants until Brougham was raised to the Woolsack and brought in a series of measures, which greatly facilitated the progress and reduced the expense of legal proceedings, though several of his most important proposals were rejected through the influence of the Tory peers. The suppression of various practices and sports, by which the most shocking cruelties were habitually inflicted on cattle, horses, and other dumb animals, was another gratifying reform, brought about at this time mainly by the efforts of Richard Martin, the member for the county of Galway. The bills which he brought in for the purpose of preventing bull-baiting, ox-driving, dog-fighting, and the cruel treatment of other animals, were time after time thrown out, and he was himself furiously assailed, nicknamed, and ridiculed by the press, Whig and Tory alike; but the kind-hearted old gentleman resolutely persevered in his advocacy of the cause of dumb animals.

In 1823 he induced the Legislature to pass a Bill to prevent the wanton and cruel treatment of horses and cattle. Ten years later an Act was passed which made it illegal to drive any ox or cattle, to bait any bull, bear, badger, ox, or other animal, or to fight cocks within five miles of Temple Bar; and in 1835 this law was extended to the whole country—a most gratifying proof of the progress which the people had made in humanity since the time when brutal sports were openly defended in Parliament, on the ground that they tended to make the people courageous and patriotic. The Anatomical Act, introduced and carried through by Mr. Warburton, must not be passed unnoticed. The difficulty of obtaining bodies for dissection by the teachers and students of surgery had for years led first to the desecration of churchyards and the rifling of graves by body-snatchers, and then, by an easy transition, to the shocking murders perpetrated by Burke and Hare, and Bishop, and others on homeless and defenceless persons for the sake of the price paid for their bodies to supply the dissecting-room. The sentence which the law empowered the criminal courts to pronounce upon a murderer, that his body should be publicly dissected, contributed greatly to strengthen the prejudice against anatomy. It was even penal for any person to be in possession of a human body for anatomical purposes, except it were that of an executed murderer. Anatomical skill was required by our public boards from those who appeared before them for examination, while the law prohibited them from obtaining this knowledge in our own country. The evils arising out of this state of the law at length attracted the notice of the Legislature, and in the third year of King William's reign an Act was passed abolishing dissection as any part of a criminal sentence, legalizing schools of anatomy, and affording facilities for anatomists, under proper regulations, to obtain possession of human bodies for the purpose of dissection. Under this Act an adequate supply of bodies has been obtained for our anatomical schools, and obtained moreover without violating the sepulchres of the dead or outraging the feelings of the living. Other improvements were made or commenced during this reign, in locomotion (it saw the opening of the first public railway), in the postal system, the laws relating to workmen, to the public health, to education, and especially to the promotion of temperate habits among all classes of the community. These vast improvements, physical, intellectual, and moral, compressed into the short space of seven years, render the reign of William IV. one of the most memorable epochs in the history of the United Kingdom.

King William died at twenty minutes after two on the morning of the 20th of June, and the Primate, the Lord Chamberlain, and the late king's physician started without delay for Kensington, in order to communicate to the Princess Victoria the tidings of her accession to the throne. They did not reach the palace until five o'clock. 'They knocked, they rang, they thumped for a considerable time before they could rouse the porter at the gate; they were again kept waiting in the court-yard, then turned into one of the lower rooms, where they seemed forgotten by everybody. They rang the bell, and desired that the attendant of the Princess Victoria might be sent to inform Her Royal Highness that they requested an audience on business of importance. After another delay, and another ringing to inquire the cause, the attendant was summoned, who stated that the Princess was in such a sweet sleep that she could not venture to disturb her. Then they said, "We are come on business of state to the Queen, and even her sleep must give way to that." It did, and to prove that she did not keep them waiting, she came into the room in a loose white night-gown and shawl, her night-cap thrown off, and her hair falling upon her shoulders, her feet in slippers, tears in her eyes, but perfectly collected and dignified.'

Melbourne was with the queen at nine, and the Privy Council assembled at eleven. The manner in which she maintained her dignity and self-possession in the trying circumstances in which she was placed amid the crowd of grey-haired statesmen, warriors, and ecclesiastical and legal dignitaries, was the subject of universal admiration. 'Never,' says Greville, who was present, 'was anything like the first impression she produced, or the chorus of praise and admiration which is raised about her manner and behaviour, and certainly not without justice. It was very extraordinary, and something far beyond what was looked for. Her extreme youth and inexperience, and the ignorance of the world concerning her, naturally excited intense curiosity to see how she would act on this trying occasion, and there was a considerable assemblage at the palace, notwithstanding the short notice that was given. Melbourne asked her if she would enter the room accompanied by the great officers of State, but she said she would come in alone. When the Lords were assembled the Lord-President informed them of the king's death, and suggested, as they were so numerous, that a few of them should repair to the presence of the queen, and inform her of the event, and that their Lordships were assembled in consequence; and accordingly the two Royal Dukes, the two Archbishops, the Chancellor, and Melbourne, went with him. The queen received them in the adjoining room alone. As soon as they had returned the proclamation was read and the usual order passed, when the doors were thrown open, and the queen entered, accompanied by her two uncles, who advanced to meet her. She bowed to the Lords, took her seat, and then read her speech in a clear, distinct, and audible voice, without any appearance of fear or embarrassment. She was quite plainly dressed, and in mourning. With becoming self-possession and graceful modesty, she spoke of the duty that had devolved upon her by the death of His Majesty, her beloved uncle. "This awful responsibility," she said, "is imposed upon me so suddenly, and at so early a period of my life, that I should feel myself utterly oppressed by the burden, were I not sustained by the hope that Divine Providence, which has called me to this work, will give me strength for the performance of it, and that I shall find in the purity of my intentions, and in my zeal for the public welfare, that support and those resources which usually belong to a more mature age and to a long experience."

'After she had read her speech, and taken and signed the oath for the security of the Church of Scotland, the Privy Councillors were sworn, the two Royal Dukes first by themselves; and as these two old men, her uncles, knelt before her, swearing allegiance, and kissing her hand, I saw her blush up to the eyes, as if she felt the contrast between their civil and natural relations, and this was the only sign of emotion which she evinced. Her manner to them was very graceful and engaging; she kissed them both, and rose from her chair and moved towards the Duke of Sussex, who was farthest from her, and too infirm to reach her. She seemed rather bewildered at the multitude of men who were sworn, and who came one after another to kiss her hand; but she did not speak to anybody, nor did she make the slightest difference in her manner, or show any in her countenance, to any individual of any rank, station, or party. . . . She went through the whole ceremony, occasionally looking at Melbourne for instruction when she had any doubt what to do, which hardly ever occurred, and with perfect calmness and self-possession, but at the same time with a graceful modesty and propriety particularly interesting and ingratiating. . . . Peel said how amazed he was at the manner and behaviour of the queen, at her apparent deep sense of her situation, her modesty, and at the same time her firmness. She appeared, in fact, to be awed, but not daunted; and afterwards the Duke of Wellington told me the same thing, and

added that if she had been his own daughter he could not have desired to see her perform her part better. At twelve she held a Council, at which she presided with as much ease as if she had been doing nothing else all her life; and though Lord Lansdowne and his colleague had contrived between them to make some confusion with the Council papers, she was not put out by it. She looked very well, and though so small in stature, and without much pretension to beauty, the gracefulness of her manner, and the good expression of her countenance, gave her on the whole a very agreeable appearance, and with her youth, inspire an excessive interest in all who approach her, and which I can't help feeling myself.'

In accordance with official etiquette the Ministers placed in Her Majesty's hands the seals of their respective offices, which she at once returned to them, thus intimating her intention to retain them in office. The stamps in official use were ordered to be altered, and also the prayers of the Church which related to the Royal family. The proclamation was prepared and signed by the Privy Councillors present, and having been authenticated by the new Great Seal, was gazetted the same evening.

The next day, according to ancient custom, she was presented to the people at a window overlooking the courtyard of St. James' Palace. Attired in black silk, with a crape scarf over her white tippet, and small black chip bonnet, her bends of brown hair as plain as her dress, the youthful queen, with the simplicity of the honest heart of youth, shed tears as, with Melbourne at her side, she was presented to the spectators as their sovereign.

The Princess Victoria, who thus ascended the throne a few weeks after she attained her eighteenth year, was the only child of the Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III., by Victoire Maria Louise, the youngest sister of the Duke of Coburg and the widow of Prince Leiningen. The untimely death of the Duke of Kent—who was certainly the best of George III.'s sons—when his daughter was only eight months old, threw the care of her early training on his widow, whom he left in very straitened circumstances. She was constituted sole guardian of the future Queen of England, and fulfilled her charge with the most painstaking assiduity and fidelity. She taught her daughter from her earliest years to live simply, to practise self-denial, to cultivate her natural abilities by diligent study, and to put her trust in God. Years of quietness and study were passed by the Princess at Kensington Palace, where she was born, in the society of her mother, and under the care of the Duchess of Northumberland, grand-daughter of the celebrated Lord Clive, who was appointed to superintend her education. Numerous anecdotes were told of the manner in which she was trained to habits of self-denial, economy, punctuality, and the diligent discharge of her duties; and how deeply she was affected, and how thoughtfully she expressed her feelings, when at twelve years of age she was for the first time made aware of the place she occupied in the succession to the throne. As years advanced and her education expanded, she made a series of visits along with her mother to a number of the most interesting towns, cathedrals, and other remarkable places in England; and as she was naturally the centre of attraction wherever she went, she was thus accustomed unconsciously to the gaze of the multitudes who were hereafter to watch her every movement, and to the often wearisome as well as exciting details of public life. Her position at this period was both delicate and critical. King William had no great liking for his sister-in-law, and took deep offence at the wise restraint and 'rigorous seclusion' under which the Princess was brought up. On one occasion, with a flagrant violation of good manners and good feeling, he expressed at his own table, in no measured terms, his displeasure that she was so rarely brought to the Court. There can be no doubt, however, that the Duchess of Kent

acted wisely in keeping her daughter at a distance from the frivolous amusements and dissipations of fashionable society, and training her in her retirement for the duties of the responsible position she was afterwards to occupy.

One striking result of the accession of the young queen was the severing of the connection between Great Britain and Hanover, which had existed during 123 years. As the throne of the Hanoverian kingdom was restricted to males, the succession fell to the queen's uncle, Ernest Duke of Cumberland. The separation attracted little notice and was regarded with satisfaction, both because it relieved the kingdom from an annoying and troublesome connection with Continental politics, and especially because it delivered the country from the presence of the Duke of Cumberland. His Royal Highness was possessed of more energy than any of the other sons of George III.; but his profligate character, rude and overbearing manners, brutal behaviour, and incessant intrigues and intermeddling with public affairs to promote extreme Tory interests, had made him universally detested. Mr. Greville says the Duke of Wellington told him that he once asked George IV. why the Duke of Cumberland was so unpopular. 'Because,' replied the king, 'there never was a father well with his son, or husband with his wife, or lover with his mistress, or friend with his friend, that he did not try to make mischief between them.' One husband, whose wife the Duke seduced, was driven by grief and shame to commit suicide; the Duke's valet was found killed in his apartments in St. James' Palace, not without strong suspicions that he had died by his master's hand. The Duke was believed to have at one time meditated treasonable designs on the throne; and as nothing but the life of a young girl stood between him and the object of his ambition, great apprehensions were entertained that the succession might devolve on him—an event which, if it had taken place, would inevitably have been followed by a revolution. It was therefore with intense satisfaction that the public beheld his departure from England. His conduct, on taking possession of the throne of Hanover, was quite in keeping with his life-long character. He immediately abolished the Constitution, with its representative institutions, which King William had conferred upon his Hanoverian subjects in 1830, and subjected them once more to the absolute sway of an arbitrary sovereign. Seven of the most distinguished professors of the University of Göttingen were dismissed from their offices, because they signed a protest declaring that they would take no part in the ensuing election on account of the suspension of the constitution; and three of their number—Jacob Grimm, one of the greatest linguists of modern times, Gervinus, the celebrated historian and critic, and Dahlmann, Professor of Political Science—were not only deprived of their professorships, but banished the kingdom. So strong was the feeling which the Duke's imperious conduct excited in Great Britain, that a Bill was proposed to set aside his claim to the throne of Queen Victoria, and to vest the succession in Prince George of Cambridge. Fortunately the marriage of the queen and the birth of her children soon dispelled the apprehensions of the people, that the obnoxious petty potentate of Hanover would ever ascend the British throne.*

* The arbitrary conduct of King Ernest caused great uneasiness among the princes of the minor States in Germany; and Baden, Bavaria, and Saxony protested against the abrogation of the Hanoverian Constitution as a violation of the federal Act of the Germanic League. The English Tories of the extreme class were greatly annoyed by the conduct of the king, who had been their leader, as bringing discredit on themselves. 'For God's sake,' wrote Lord Londonderry to the Duke of Buckingham, 'don't send me any more of King Ernest's confidential secrets; I have them all, and such lots of his difficult writing, as if I were to be his *Charge d'Affaires* here. But this I will not be. . . . It is as well that our friend the King of Hanover is out of the country, for it diminishes the possibility of an ultra party. The precipitancy with which he has acted has been unfortunate.' The Duke, on succeeding to the throne of Hanover, very characteristically refused to give up either the £21,000 a year which had been granted to him by the British Parliament, or the apartments in St. James' Palace which had been granted to him by the Crown.

As a dissolution of Parliament could not be long delayed the Ministry wisely resolved to wind up the business of the session as rapidly as possible, and to postpone to another Parliament the Bills respecting tithes, poor laws, and municipal corporations in Ireland, the English clergy pluralities Bill, and the Bill for the promotion of religious instruction in Scotland. The members both of the Government and the Legislature were anxious that the session should be brought to a close, in order that they might be freed from the difficulties which had arisen through the conflicting policy adopted by the two Houses. The budget was therefore introduced and passed; and some other necessary business having been transacted, the Parliament was formally prorogued by the queen on the 17th of July. She was received with great enthusiasm, and her appearance on this occasion contributed not a little to deepen the favourable impression which her behaviour had already produced. The wise and liberal words of the speech, which she pronounced in clear, unfaltering, and well-modulated tones, were indicative of the spirit that has distinguished her whole reign. 'I ascend the throne,' she said, 'with a deep sense of the responsibility which is imposed upon me; but I am supported by the consciousness of my own right intentions, and by my dependence on the protection of Almighty God. It will be my care to strengthen our institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, by discreet improvement, wherever improvement is required, and to do all in my power to compose and allay animosity and discord. Acting upon these principles, I shall upon all occasions look with confidence to the wisdom of Parliament and the affections of my people, which form the true support of the dignity of the Crown, and insure the stability of the constitution.'

CHAPTER XIII.

Condition of France at this period—Louis Philippe's system of Government—His successive Ministries—Insurrections among the workmen in the chief towns—Trial of the Insurgents—Punishments inflicted on them—Death of Lafayette—Prosecutions of the Press—Fieschi's Infernal Machine—The Laws of September—Renewed prosecutions of the Press—Attempts on Louis Philippe's life by Alebaud and Meunier—Champion's Infernal Machine—Death of Charles X.—Release of his Ministers—Louis Napoleon's early career—His abortive attempt on the Crown at Strasburg—Bruyant's Plot—Misunderstandings of France with America and Switzerland—Algeria—Abd-el-Kader—Disasters of the French forces in Algeria—Unsuccessful Expedition against Constantine—Treaty with Abd-el-Kader—Renewed and Successful Expedition against Constantine—Louis Philippe's demands for grants of Money to his children—Marriage of the Duke of Orleans—Death of Talleyrand—Insincere Policy of Louis Philippe towards Spain—Shocking cruelties of the Christinos and the Carlists—The British Legion—Raid of Gomez—Investment of Bilbao—The Siege raised—Treatment of the British Legion by the Spanish Government—Opposition in Parliament to its continuance—Its Dissolution—Termination of the Civil War in Spain—Don Carlos' Renunciation of his Claims—State of Portugal—The Queen's second Husband—Resignation of the Ministry—Military Revolution—Bad Conduct of the new Government—Attempt at a counter Revolution—Birth of an Heir to the Throne.

THE affairs of France at this period were in a much more unsatisfactory state than those of Great Britain; but the contest there was not so much between rival parties as between the king and the people. As soon as he ascended the throne, Louis Philippe set himself to govern as well as to reign; and whenever any of his numerous Ministries attempted to exercise authority, as well as to hold office, the king contrived by cunning and courtly arts to sow dissension in their ranks and to dissolve the Administration. He had no fewer than six different Ministries in as many years. The Duke de Broglie, Thiers, Guizot, Soult, Molé, and other leading politicians, all in turn were displaced whenever they presumed to thwart the royal will, or to call in question the 'personal system,' on which Louis Philippe so much prided himself. Bills for suppressing political societies, restricting the liberty of the press, and forbidding under heavy penalties hawkers to cry and sell newspapers in the streets without a license from the police, were followed by insurrectionary riots, in 1834, among the workmen at Lyons, St. Etienne, Grenoble, Vienne, Marseilles, and other towns, which ultimately extended to Paris; but they were all suppressed, though not without considerable bloodshed. These sanguinary outbreaks afforded the Government an excuse for severe repressive measures, which had the effect of still further alienating the middle classes from the monarchy. They had cordially supported the King and his Ministers while the public safety was in peril. When the crisis was over, however, they expected a more clement and liberal policy, but were disappointed. Louis Philippe was determined to bring to trial several hundreds of persons who were accused of participation in the riots at Lyons and elsewhere, or of holding republican opinions. The Ministry, under Marshal Gérard, were strongly opposed to this unwise and dangerous policy, and wished an amnesty to be granted; but the king was bent on carrying out his own views, and his Cabinet in consequence resigned. A new Ministry was formed under Maret, the Duke of Bassano, who had long been Napoleon's private secretary; but it lasted only three days, in consequence of the unwillingness of its members to carry out the king's wishes. For three weeks France was without a Government. In the end the king, as usual, carried his point; and the old Ministers consented to resume office under Marshal Mortier, Duke of Treviso.

As juries had shown an unwillingness to convict political offenders, it was resolved that the Chamber of Peers should be appointed to conduct the 'monster trial,' as it was termed at the time, which the king

had doggedly insisted should be carried into effect. After examining the cases of about 1000 prisoners, the ministers selected 164 for trial on the charge of participation in the insurrections at Lyons and Paris, or of being members of the Society of the Rights of Man. Every succeeding step of the proceedings involved the Government in fresh troubles; but they were compelled by their imperious master to go on against their own judgment, and in the midst of unequivocal indications of public disapprobation. First of all, a quarrel took place with the bar about the mode in which the prisoners should be defended. Then the prisoners themselves declined to accept the counsel appointed by the court to conduct their defence. They refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court, or to hear the indictment, drowning by their shouts and screams the voice of the public prosecutor. One of the accused, in protesting against the trial, denounced Louis Philippe as a tyrant, and was on the spot condemned to five years' imprisonment and a heavy fine, with the loss of civil rights during that period. After a time they would not come to the bar, would not even leave their beds, would not rise from the floor of their cells, on which one of them lay without any clothing whatever, declaring that the municipal guards might take him in that state if they liked before the Court of Peers. Of the Lyons prisoners, fifty-eight in number, the case was abandoned against six, nine were acquitted, and the rest were condemned to terms of imprisonment varying from three years to imprisonment for life.

The Paris prisoners, forty-four in number, comprising the most active and dangerous members of the Republican party, broke a hole in the wall of a cellar, through which they obtained access to a neighbouring garden and made their escape. Only thirteen were stopped or retaken. Twenty-eight of the fugitives published a letter stating that, as the Peers had thought fit to defer their trial for another year, they preferred spending the recess in the country or in Belgium; but they threatened to return in the following session, and compel the Peers to try them. The Opposition journals asserted, what many believed, that the escape of these prisoners was connived at in order to get rid of an investigation which had brought great scandal on the Government, and had involved the Peers in no end of trouble and perplexity.

The Republican party were at this time quite in the shade, and were further depressed by the death of Lafayette, on the 20th of May, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. The high reputation attained by the venerable patriot was due, not to any great intellectual powers, but to his sterling virtues. He was a thoroughly honest man, and courageously resisted both the tyranny of the monarch and the anarchy of the mob. He was an ardent supporter of the reforms for which all France was crying out before the Revolution; and when the sanguinary outbreak of the Parisian rabble imperiled the lives of the royal family, Lafayette stood forth their protector, mastered the mob, and saved the king and queen from their brutal fury. At a later period he had the courage to protest, at the risk of his life, against the wrong-doing of the Convention, to remonstrate with the National Assembly for permitting the violence of the Clubs, and to brave the denunciation of Robespierre at the Jacobin Club, and of Collet d'Herbois at the Assembly. On his escape from their vengeance he had to endure five years imprisonment in a loathsome dungeon at Olmutz, to the shame of the Austrian Government. At the second French Revolution he declined the presidentship of the Republic in France, in order to put the crown on the head of Louis Philippe. In reply to the cries of 'Vive la Republique,' he pointed to the Duke of Orleans and said, 'Behold the best of Republics.' The American Congress voted him, in 1824, an estate in Virginia, and a grant of 200,000

dollars for his services as the friend and fellow-soldier of Washington in the War of Independence. Charles X., widely as he differed from Lafayette's opinions, gave credit to the Republican general for his sterling integrity and consistency. 'I know but two men,' he said, 'who have always professed the same principles; they are myself and M. Lafayette.' The excesses of the Parisian mob, and the restrictive measures to which they led, embittered the last days of the simple-minded and honest old friend of liberty and order. His last speech in the Chamber was on behalf of political refugees; and the last lines he wrote related to the emancipation of the negroes. 'Lafayette,' it has been said, 'was too honest a man to leave the keys in the locks, even in politics.'

As might have been expected, the regal system of government was fiercely assailed by the Republican journalists, who pleaded that as Louis Philippe had merged the royal in the ministerial functions, they were quite as much entitled to criticise and comment upon his actions as upon those of his Ministers. But the king, naturally, could not be brought to view the matter in this light, and commenced a crusade against the press, which was carried on with unrelenting severity throughout the rest of his reign. During the first three years of his rule the number of prosecutions of the press undertaken by the Government amounted to 411; but in only 143 cases did the public prosecutor obtain a conviction.

The repressive proceedings of the King and his Ministers goaded the more violent and reckless partisans of the Republican party to further excesses. They persuaded themselves that Louis Philippe was the main obstacle to the establishment of a form of government in accordance with their own views, and they in consequence proceeded to frame incessant plots against his life. During the whole month of July, 1835, Paris was in a state of excitement in consequence of rumours as to murderous conspiracies against the king. A plot was said to have been hatched against his life at Neuilly, by which he was to be shot on his way from the Tuileries to the country. The police received information of another plot to cause an explosion of an infernal machine from a subterraneous *fosse* on the Boulevards as Louis Philippe was passing, but though a number of persons were apprehended, no evidence was obtained to lead to a belief that any actual danger existed. On the 28th of July, however, in the midst of the celebration of the annual festival held in honour of 'the Three Days of July, 1830,' the king was riding along the Boulevard du Temple, accompanied by his sons, by several of his ministers and military officers, and a numerous and brilliant staff, when an explosion took place like a discharge of musketry from the window of an adjoining house. The street was thronged at the time, and a considerable number of the unsuspecting crowd were killed or wounded—among others the aged Marshal Mortier, General de Verigny, an aide-de-camp of Marshal Maison, Colonel Ruffe, Captain Vilatte, the Lieutenant-Colonel of the National Guard, and several men of the same force, were shot dead upon the spot. Fourteen in all were killed, among whom was a young girl, and between forty and fifty were severely wounded; but Louis Philippe himself, the object of this indiscriminate slaughter, though his horse was wounded, escaped unhurt, probably through the brief period required by the assassin for withdrawing the Persian window-blind which concealed his gun-barrels from view.

The house from which the shots had been fired was instantly surrounded, and entered by the police and an armed force. They seized one man, who proved to be the chief perpetrator of this horrid deed, as he was in the act of letting himself down by a rope from a back window of the apartment. The machine which had been fired with such fatal effect was found to consist of between twenty and thirty gun barrels, ranged horizontally side by side upon a

frame. Each barrel was loaded with several bullets and a heavy charge of powder, and the touch-holes were connected by a train of gunpowder so that they could be discharged simultaneously. Five of the barrels had burst and wounded the assassin in the head so severely that his escape was delayed till he was caught.

The perpetrator of this shocking deed was a Corsican named Fieschi, who appears to have led a varied and disreputable course of life. He had been at one time a vagabond soldier in the army of Joachim Murat, King of Naples, had stood in the pillory for fraud and forgery, had suffered two years' imprisonment for theft, had swindled his landlord, and had lastly been a police spy employed in watching the proceedings of political societies. Other three persons who had been complicated in the plot—Boireau, a worker in bronze; Morey, a harness-maker; and an individual of the name of Pepin—were arrested by the police, and brought to trial along with Fieschi before the Chamber of Peers, 30th January, 1836. They were all found guilty. Fieschi, Morey, and Pepin were condemned to death, and were executed on the 19th of February. Boireau was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment. But the most careful investigation failed to discover the slightest connection between Fieschi's plot and any political party or conspiracy against the Government.

The atrocious attempt of Fieschi and his accomplices excited a universal expression of indignation and abhorrence throughout France; but the Ministry very unwisely took advantage of the alarm which the plot against the life of the king had excited, to ask for exceptional laws in order to strengthen their own authority. The notorious 'laws of September,' as they were termed, were the result of this demand. On the 4th of August three different bills were laid before the Chamber of Deputies by M. Persil, the Minister of Justice. By the first of these measures every offence against the person of the king was declared to be an attempt against the safety of the State, and was in consequence to be tried before the Chamber of Peers instead of a jury. Every attempt to turn into ridicule the person and authority of the king, or to introduce the name of the king either directly or by allusion in a discussion of the acts of the Government, or to endeavour to effect a change in the principle and the form of the king's government, was to be punished with imprisonment and a heavy fine. The expression of Republican opinions rendered a person liable to imprisonment for a period varying from six months to five years, and to a fine varying from 500 to 10,000 francs. The expression of an opinion that the exiled royal family had a right to the throne of France rendered the Legitimist liable to perpetual exile; and the expression of a wish or hope for their restoration was to be punished with imprisonment and a large fine.

The full measure of royal and ministerial severity was reserved for the press, whose daily discussions, it was asserted, tended to destroy all respect for established institutions, for the kingly office, or the royal person. The existing laws for the regulation of the press were declared to be still in force. In the event of two condemnations in one year, the penalties might be augmented to four times the maximum. Should the responsible editor of a journal be found guilty of an offence against the law, its publication was to cease unless it appeared with the name of a new editor. The amount of the security or caution money was raised to 100,000 francs—upwards of £4000 of our money. It was forbidden to raise subscriptions in favour of journals condemned by the tribunals, and a strict censorship was instituted over drawings, engravings, and theatrical pieces. In trial by jury the number necessary to obtain a verdict of guilty was reduced from two-thirds to a bare majority, and the votes were to be given by ballot. The president was authorized to remove prisoners who disturbed the court, and to come to a

decision on documentary evidence in the absence of the accused. The French press was thus brought into a state of as complete servitude, as it would have been if Charles X. had been able to carry out his unconstitutional ordinances. The laws of September put an end to about thirty demagogue Legitimist journals; but they at the same time excited bitter animosity against the *Doctrinaire* ministers, especially against Thiers and Guizot, who, it was justly said, within a few years had lived, moved, and had their being in that press which they now treated with such Draconian severity.

These coercive measures, moreover, did not contribute to the comfort or security of the Citizen King himself, whose removal was regarded by the Red Republicans as the shortest and surest way of getting rid of their galling fetters. There seemed, in fact, to be no end to the attacks upon Louis Philippe's life. Hardly had one plot to assassinate him been defeated than another was brought to light. As a stanch old English Tory said, 'The King of the Barricades found himself under the painful necessity of proving that he was also King of the Prisons.'

The next attempt upon the life of Louis Philippe was made on the 25th of June, 1836, by a young man named Alibaud, a worthless profligate, who had served some time in the army as a *sous-officier*, and was in great distress. As His Majesty was leaving the Tuileries the assassin came up to the carriage door, and rested his weapon — a walking-stick gun — on the window while he fired. The king escaped in consequence of his happening to bow at the moment to some National Guards at the other window. His wife and sister, the Princess Adelaide, were in the carriage at the time, but neither of the two was hurt. Alibaud, who, it was found, had no accomplices, was tried before the Court of Peers on the 8th of July. On being asked by the President how long he had entertained his criminal project, he answered —'From the time the king has placed Paris in a state of siege, and wished not to reign but to govern—since the time that His Majesty has caused citizens to be massacred on the streets of Lyons and the *Cloître St. Mery.*' He was condemned to die the death of a parricide, and was executed on the 11th of July.

Before the year closed (December 27th) the French king had another narrow escape. As he was proceeding in state from the Tuileries to open the session of the Chambers for the following year, and the royal carriage was making its way slowly through the snow, a shot was fired by a young man named Meunier, at the king's head, through one of the windows which was shut. His Majesty was untouched, but the Duke of Orleans, who sat beside him, was cut on the ear by the broken glass. 'I know not,' said the king, 'how I escaped, as at the moment I had my head very much advanced towards the door of the carriage. Nemours, who was also leaning forward, had his head against the glass.' The sentence of death pronounced upon Meunier was commuted by the king into transportation. Within two months, in February, 1837, the police discovered that a journeyman locksmith, named Champion, was engaged, with the assistance of some accomplices, in the construction of another infernal machine, which was to have been directed against the life of the king. He was arrested, but on the same day he strangled himself in prison. A few months after, a third infernal machine was discovered in the course of construction. It was to consist of 'sixteen gun-barrels in two rows of eight each,' and its success was confidently reckoned on. The principal conspirator was a person of the name of Hubert, who had for his accomplices a Swiss mechanic, named Steuble, and a certain Mademoiselle Grouville, who had been mixed up with previous conspiracies. Hubert was condemned to transportation; Mademoiselle Grouville and Steuble to five years' imprisonment. The former lost her

reason during her detention in prison, and Steuble committed suicide.

While the successor of the old dynasty was thus feeling how 'uneasy lies the head that wears a crown,' its representative, Charles X., passed away at Gortz in Illyria, on the 6th of November, a few weeks after completing the seventy-ninth year of his age. The aged monarch had borne his misfortunes with great dignity and equanimity, and died in the firm belief that he had fulfilled an important duty. He was perfectly honest and sincere in the conviction, that the arbitrary measures which lost him his throne were necessary for the safety of the State; but his notions of the royal prerogative and authority were suited to the sixteenth rather than the nineteenth century. A month before the death of Charles X., his ministers, who had spent six years in prison at Ham, were set at liberty. Three of them were directed to reside, on their parole, on their own estates; but the sentence pronounced upon Prince Polignac was commuted into banishment from France for twenty years. Sixty-two political offenders were also discharged, by a royal ordinance, from further punishment; but were still placed under the surveillance of the police. It was supposed that the king had at length become aware that his prosecutions of political offenders and of the press were alienating the affections of his subjects, and shaking the stability of his throne. But the steps taken at this time against a Parisian journal, called *La France*, showed that Louis Philippe's fear and hatred of the press were in no degree abated. The editor of that journal was sentenced to three months' imprisonment and a fine of 300 francs, for the offence of styling the Duke and Duchess of Angoulême King and Queen of France and Navarre.

Military insurrections now alternated with attempts at assassination in disturbing the tranquillity of France and endangering Louis Philippe's throne. The representative of the Bonaparte family at this time was Charles Louis Napoleon, younger son of Louis, king of Holland, and Hortense Beauharnais, daughter of Josephine, Napoleon's first wife. After the Revolution of 1830, the exiled Bonaparte family made application for permission to return to France; but Louis Philippe peremptorily refused his consent. The two sons of Louis on this joined the Italian insurgents in their attempt to free their country from the yoke of their petty tyrants; but while taking an active part in the insurrection Napoleon Louis, the elder of the two brothers, suddenly died at Forli. Austrian intervention, as we have seen, speedily crushed the Italian movement; and Louis Napoleon in the company of his mother fled from Italy, and though still under prescription the two made their way to Paris. Louis Philippe, however, persisted in his refusal to allow the exiles to settle in France; and they proceeded first to London, and afterwards to Switzerland, where Louis Napoleon had at a previous period received a military training as an artillery officer in the Federal army.

The Emperor Napoleon had settled the succession to the throne of France, after his own son, on the sons of his brother Louis; and the death of the Duke of Reichstadt (Napoleon II. as he was called), 22nd July, 1832, left Louis Napoleon the only surviving representative of the Bonapartist interest. He was personally little known in France; and he now began to call attention to his claims by the publication of several treatises, political and military. The object of his political disquisitions was not only to extend his own reputation, but at the same time to effect a coalition between the Bonapartists and the Republicans, who were deeply dissatisfied with Louis Philippe's policy. His treatise, entitled 'Political Reveries,' was warmly eulogized by the democratic press of Paris; and misled by their commendations, and by the support promised

him by some officers of the garrison of Strasbourg, he resolved to make an attempt to overthrow the reigning dynasty. He had gained over to his cause at Baden Colonel Vaudrey, who commanded the 4th Regiment of Artillery; and on the 28th of October, 1836, he arrived secretly at Strasburg, where the commandant, Parquin, awaited him. At five o'clock, on the morning of the 30th, Colonel Vaudrey presented Louis Napoleon to his regiment, dressed in a uniform resembling that which his uncle used to wear, adorned with decorations and the *cordon rouge*, and informed them that a revolution had taken place at Paris, that Louis Philippe had been killed, and that Napoleon II., the descendant of the 'great man,' whom he now presented to them, had been proclaimed. The soldiers received the Prince with loud acclamations of 'Vive l'Empereur.' One body of them went in marching order to the residence of General Voirol, who, however, refused to join the movement, and was in consequence made prisoner. But he succeeded in convincing the mutineers that they had been imposed on, and they set him at liberty. In the meantime Louis Napoleon and Colonel Vaudrey had proceeded to the barrack of the 46th Regiment, and were haranguing the soldiers, when their colonel, who had received notice of what was going on, appeared upon the scene and ordered the gates to be closed. The whole party of conspirators were immediately arrested and thrown into prison. Louis Napoleon was transmitted to Paris on the 9th of November; but the Cabinet had previously resolved that he should not be tried, feeling that it would be hazardous to bring him before the Chamber of Peers, which contained among its members a great number of old servants of the Empire. He was allowed to remain only two hours in Paris; and on the 21st of November he was placed on board a French ship of war, and conveyed to the United States, which, however, he soon left.

The Government, after expatriating Louis Napoleon without bringing him to trial, indicted his accomplices at the bar of the Court of Assize at Strasburg. They were all acquitted, however, the jury considering that they could not with propriety bring in a verdict of guilty against the agents and instruments while the principal was allowed to go unpunished and untried. The result of the trial was felt as a severe blow, both by the king and his ministers. On the very same day on which the attempt was made at Strasburg to establish an empire by the aid of the soldiers, a military conspiracy to set up a Republic was discovered at Vendôme. The leader was a sub-officer of a hussar regiment stationed there, of the name of Bruyant; but the number of his accomplices did not exceed nine or ten. The plot was suppressed without difficulty. Bruyant and one of his comrades were condemned to death, and other two to five years' imprisonment.

These internal disturbances were aggravated by the mode in which the French king and his ministers acted in their transactions with other countries. They narrowly escaped a war with America, in consequence of their delay in paying a sum of money, which they admitted to be due to that country, as compensation for the losses which American citizens had unjustly suffered at the hands of the Emperor Napoleon, and they had to retreat in a humiliating manner from the position which they had taken up after recalling the French ambassador from Washington. There was a misunderstanding with Switzerland, threatening a serious collision in connection with the alleged employment of a French spy of the name of Conseil. The king had virtually withdrawn, in a rather discreditable manner, from the engagement which he had made with the British Government to support the claims of Queen Isabella of Spain; and, to crown all, Algeria had been found to be a perpetual and a growing trouble, both expensive and unprofitable, incurring 'painful losses,' which had 'deeply

afflicted' the king's heart and irritated the French people.

Louis Philippe had found the Algerian conquest a source of embarrassment to him throughout. He was well aware that to hold it definitely might endanger the peace of Europe, while to relinquish it might peril his own throne, as public opinion in France was in favour of retaining and extending the Algerian conquest at all hazards. Hence the passive attitude enjoined for several years on the French commanders in Africa; hence, also, the subsequent change of measures and final conquest of Algeria. Marshal Clausel, notwithstanding his instructions to remain on the defensive, deemed it necessary to undertake active measures against the Bey of Tartary, whom he defeated and deposed. This change of policy on the part of the French invaders excited the determined hostility of the native tribes. An extensive confederation was formed, headed by the celebrated Abd-el-Kader, and a holy war was proclaimed against the infidels. Alternate successes and defeats were incurred by the French troops; and though the country was laid waste, and considerable losses suffered by the native tribes, the French had as yet made little progress in subduing them, and had received no adequate return from their lavish expenditure of blood and treasure. They at length considered it expedient to offer conditions of peace to the Emir, and a treaty was accordingly concluded with him by General Desmichelo, Governor of Oran. One of the conditions of the treaty was that Abd-el-Kader was to enjoy a monopoly of the trade with the French in corn; but the home Government were so dissatisfied with the arrangement that they removed the general from his post.

For some time after the conclusion of this treaty the colony continued in a state of great tranquillity, and was making considerable improvement. But the French became jealous of the power of the Emir, and on the pretence that he had been encroaching on their territory, General Trizel, the new Governor of Oran, was sent out against him with a considerable force. The two armies encountered on the 25th of June, 1835, at the river Macta, and the French were routed with great slaughter. The news of this defeat created an immense sensation in Paris, and compelled the Government to send out Marshal Clausel to act with earnestness and vigour against the victorious Emir. Clausel reached Algeria in August, 1835, accompanied by the Duke of Orleans, and on the 26th of November following he set out at the head of 11,000 men to attack Mascara, the capital of Abd-el-Kader. He reached that place on the 6th of December, but finding the town totally deserted, he destroyed it, and then returned to Algiers, apparently in the belief that he had completely subdued the troublesome Arab chief. Abd-el-Kader, however, soon showed that he was as formidable as ever, and attacked and routed at Tafna a detachment of 3000 men under General d'Arlanges. Having taken possession of Tlemecen, a town in the south-west of Oran, Marshal Clausel found it necessary to dislodge him from this position, which was in dangerous proximity to the French establishments in that quarter. After traversing a large extent of country, with a great loss both of men and horses and camels, the French general succeeded in reaching the town, which Abd-el-Kader, in accordance with his usual policy, evacuated on his approach. He was obliged speedily to retrace his steps without achieving any permanent result. The Emir hung on his rear throughout his retreat, harassing his troops in their march, and shortly afterwards inflicted a signal defeat on a large French convoy intended for Tlemecen.

To crown the disasters which wounded the vanity of the French people, and added to the dangers and perplexities of their sovereign, an expedition which Marshal Clausel at this time undertook against Constantine, the capital of Bona, proved a disastrous failure. Achmet Bey, the ruler

of that province, had long been a thorn in the side of the French commanders in Algeria, and though he had suffered repeated reverses in an encounter with their forces, he was as far as ever from being conquered and quieted. It was therefore resolved to undertake an expedition on an extensive scale against his capital, Constantine, the ancient Roman Cista. The most ample preparations were made in order to insure its success, and the Duke of Nemours, one of the king's sons, was sent to share in the certain dangers and expected glories of the campaign, as his elder brother had done in the expedition against Mascara.

There was a good deal of rugged country to be passed by the expedition, and a number of mountain torrents to be crossed, which run through deep and rocky channels. Their route lay through the celebrated Col de Raz el Akba, or the 'Cut Throat Pass,' which the Arabs thought it impossible for the French to pass with their cannon, ammunition, and stores, and probably for this reason did not attempt to defend it. The troops succeeded, however, in passing the Col without loss, but on reaching the elevated region, within two days' march of Constantine, rain, snow, and hail fell so heavily and incessantly that they were exposed, as Clausel himself said, to all the rigours of a St. Petersburg winter. In crossing the river Mezrough, which had overflowed its banks, the infantry were up to the waist in water, and a number of draught horses were drowned in the passage. The cold had now become intense; no fuel was to be obtained; not a few of the men had their feet frozen during the night, and many perished. At length, after a most fatiguing march, the French troops, 9000 in number, reached, on the 21st of November, the high table-land on which the town stands. Constantine stands on an insulated eminence, protected on the one side by a wide and very deep ravine, at the bottom of which runs the river Rummel, presenting a scarp and counterscarp of perpendicular rock that can neither be mined nor bombarded. On the other side the river Hummel defends it like a fosse. As it was found utterly impracticable to bring forward the heavy artillery, which had stuck fast in the mud, the French general resolved to make an attempt to carry the town by storm, though only 3000 men remained fit for duty; but the repeated attacks of the besiegers were repulsed with heavy loss by the garrison. The marshal was therefore compelled to relinquish the enterprise, and to make the best of his way back to Bona. During their retreat the invaders were harassed night and day by their ever-active enemy. Horses were wanting to draw the artillery and ammunition and baggage waggons, and to convey the wounded and the sick, who had to be left behind, and, it is alleged, were massacred by the Arabs. Clausel ultimately succeeded in reaching his old headquarters with the mere skeleton of the numerous and well-equipped army with which he had started on his disastrous enterprise. His failure occasioned his recall from his Government, and he returned to France not only with tarnished reputation as a general, but labouring under heavy charges of extortion and plunder.

Meanwhile General Bugeaud, who had been sent out with instructions to bring about the submission of Abd-el-Kader either by force or by pacific measures, had gained a victory over him at the Pass of Sikak, on the 6th of July, 1836. But the French general neglected to follow up his advantage, and in a brief space the Emir recovered his losses, and was once more in the field at the head of a powerful force. In these circumstances the French Government deemed it expedient to conclude a treaty with their indefatigable enemy on terms very advantageous to the Arab chief. He was allowed to retain possession of the territory that was already under his authority, and was to have liberty to purchase from the French such military stores as he required.

On the other hand, he became bound to relinquish all authority over such Arabs as might live within the French boundary; to acknowledge the sovereignty of France; and to deliver for the use of the French troops a stipulated quantity of provisions. Criminals were reciprocally to be delivered up.

The disastrous failure of the attempt on Constantine was felt to be so humiliating and injurious to the French military reputation that the Ministry considered it necessary to fit out a new expedition in order to wipe off the reproach which Clausel's misadventure had brought upon their arms. General Damremont, who had been appointed Clausel's successor in the government of the colony, was accordingly instructed to make all requisite preparations for a new attack on Achmet Bey's capital. The force destined for the expedition consisted of 9500 infantry and 1100 cavalry, with artillerymen and sappers and miners, exclusive of irregular native troops. They were accompanied also by a powerful train of artillery, including heavy guns for the siege. The whole force amounted to 13,000 men. The invaders commenced their march on the 1st of October, 1837, and reached the vicinity of the town on the 6th, in the midst of a heavy and tempestuous rain. The difficulties they had to encounter in forming their batteries and bringing their guns to bear on the town, while the storm continued to rage with undiminished violence, were almost insurmountable; and at one time it appeared highly probable that they would be compelled to abandon the siege. But, though constantly harassed by the enemy, they at last succeeded in completing their breaching batteries. On the 12th, General Damremont was killed by a cannon-shot from the town while standing beside the Duke of Orleans; and almost at the same moment a musket ball struck General Perregeaux, the chief of the staff, between the eyes. The command then devolved upon General Vallée, an old soldier of the Empire. Next day the breach was declared practicable, though very difficult. The storming party advanced in three columns, commanded by the Duke of Orleans; and after a prolonged and desperate struggle they succeeded at last in effecting a lodgment within the ramparts. The garrison contested every inch of the ground with indomitable courage, and yielded step by step. Every street, and almost every house, was obstinately defended. The carnage was dreadful, and the victors sullied their conquest by acts of shocking violence and cruelty. Leaving a garrison of 2500 men, with six months' provisions, to hold the town so dearly purchased, General Vallée returned without interruption to Bona, and was rewarded for his success with the dignity of a Marshal of France.

While the French people at home were loudly complaining of the mismanagement of affairs in Algeria, and of the large and unprofitable expenditure incurred by the settlement there, the unpopularity of the king was increased by the demands which he now made, during a period of grievous agricultural and commercial distress, for liberal grants from the Chambers to make a provision for several of his children. On the 18th of April M. Molè, the Prime Minister, announced that a marriage had been arranged between the Duke of Orleans and the Princess Helena of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and an addition was asked to the prince's income. The Chambers agreed to double the allowance of the prince, which had hitherto been £40,000 a year. They at the same time fixed the jointure of the bride at £12,000, and made her a present of £40,000 for the expense of her outfit. The king had besides asked Rambouillet as an appanage for the Duke de Nemours; but this request was so violently opposed that, much to the mortification of the Government, it had to be withdrawn. A million of francs was also demanded as a marriage portion for the king's eldest daughter, who was married to the King of the Belgians. It was granted, after a great deal of angry discussion as to the

impropriety of endowing from the public purse the daughter of a sovereign who, in addition to the property of the Crown, possessed the large estates of the house of Orleans, and one of whose sons had inherited the great wealth of the house of Condé. The marriage of the heir to the throne took place at Fontainebleau on the 30th of May, and the newly married couple entered Paris on the 4th of June. An immense concourse of people had assembled in the Champ de Mars, to witness a sham fight which took place in honour of the occasion. A sudden panic seized the crowd, who rushed pell-mell towards the outlets; great numbers were thrown down and trampled under foot. Thirty persons lost their lives, and many more were seriously wounded. This deplorable incident made a deep impression on the public mind; and the Parisians, calling to recollection that a fearful catastrophe had occurred also at the marriage of Louis XVI., when Dauphin, to Marie Antoinette, and of Napoleon to Marie Louise, regarded this accident as of evil omen to the prince and his bride, which in no long time was sadly fulfilled.

On the 17th of May, 1838, passed away Prince Talleyrand, the most celebrated diplomatist of his day, at the age of eighty-four. Though unpromising at the outset, his long career was singularly varied, influential, and successful. He was noble by birth; but on account of his lameness, the result of an accident, he was deprived of his birthright and forced into the church, much against his own inclination. He renounced both his profession and his religious faith, became a disciple of Voltaire and a Republican, a politician, a Minister of State, and an ambassador; was excommunicated by the Pope; denounced as a Royalist during the Reign of Terror, and regarded as a Jacobin by the British Ministry, who ordered him at once to leave England, in which he had taken refuge. He was the chief minister of Napoleon, whom he served with diligence and fidelity, and had even the courage to tell him unpalatable truths, and to warn him of the dangers in which his insatiable ambition and unscrupulous conduct were involving him. Talleyrand's denunciation of the Spanish expedition lost him the favour of the Emperor; and as early as 1812 he predicted the downfall of the Empire. The restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France was mainly owing to his advice and influence. 'There is no other alternative,' he said, 'but Napoleon or Louis XVIII.' And it was he who recommended that the crown should be tendered to Louis Philippe on the expulsion of the elder dynasty in 1830. He was appointed the representative of the new king at the British court, and strove earnestly to preserve friendly relations between France and Great Britain. It was chiefly due to his exertions that the intrigues both of the King and his Ministers for the annexation of Belgium were defeated, and the independence of that country was secured. Talleyrand, with all his great ability, was not a person of any fixed principle, either sacred or secular; but he had the courage to follow steadily the policy which he considered best fitted to promote the interests of his country. His remarkable sagacity, exquisite tact, adroitness, dexterity, insinuating manners, knowledge of the world, and ready wit were freely acknowledged by all parties —friends or foes. Carlyle terms him 'a man living in falsehood, yet not what you can call a false man: there is the specialty. It will be an enigma for future ages, one may hope.' Lord Jeffrey, who met him at Holland House in 1832, thus wrote of him:—'He is more natural, plain, and reasonable than I had expected; a great deal of the repose of high breeding and old age, with a mild and benevolent manner, and great calmness of language, rather than the sharp, caustic, cutting speech of a practical utterer of *bon-mots*.' Talleyrand died as he had lived; and almost at his last

hour exhibited his adroitness in flatttery. At eight o'clock, on the 17th of May, the king came in person to visit him. The skilful diplomatist wished to receive his royal visitor standing; but had only strength to say, 'Sire, this is the greatest honour which my house has ever received.' An hour afterwards he was no more.

While Louis Philippe, by his arbitrary and avaricious policy, was shaking the foundations of his throne, he was gradually withdrawing from the Quadruple Alliance, and showing an increasing inclination to favour the pretensions of Don Carlos. In vain Lord Palmerston warned the French Cabinet that France was putting herself into a false position respecting Spain, and at no distant time would find her mistake; and that by her persisting in backing out of the Alliance her Government would become identified, in the opinion of the nation, with the arbitrary party in Europe and with the enemies of free institutions. The French contingent which had been stationed on the Spanish frontier was withdrawn; and no attempt was made by the Government to fulfil their engagement to prevent succours of arms, men, and stores from being sent to the insurgents. The contest between the rival claimants of the Spanish crown in consequence continued undecided. The Royalists were unable to eject Don Carlos from the northern provinces; and the Carlists had not succeeded in penetrating to the capital, and expelling the young queen from the throne. The war was carried on by both parties in the brutal and sanguinary manner which had brought the deepest infamy on the combatants, and had shocked the whole civilized world. The mother of Cabrera, one of the most active of the Carlist partizans, a venerable lady seventy years of age, was at this time ordered to be put to death by the Christino general, Nogueras, in retaliation for the cruel deeds of her son. The governor of Tortosa refused to carry into effect this monstrous command. Nogueras appealed to Mina, captain-general of Catalonia, who to his eternal disgrace enforced the order, and the old woman was actually shot in the public square of Tortosa. Mina alleged, in his defence, that she had taken part in a plot to deliver up the castle of Tortosa to the Carlists. Cabrera, in revenge, ordered all the Royalists who might fall into the hands of his troops to be put to death; and he began his reprisals by ordering the wives of four officers to be shot, declaring at the same time that at least thirty women must be executed to expiate the murder of his mother.

Though the French king had thus, in violation of his engagements, failed to co-operate with the British Government in suppressing the Carlist insurrection in Spain, Lord Palmerston persisted in carrying out the policy which he had adopted in support of the Spanish Constitutionalists. A British squadron, under Lord John Hay, was stationed on the Spanish coast, with instructions to co-operate with the Royalists in their efforts to clear the country of the Carlists; and it was mainly by its aid that the British Legion, under General Evans, defeated the Carlist army engaged in the siege of St. Sebastian, and destroyed their works (May 5th, 1836). A few weeks later the Royalists were enabled to regain possession of the small town of Passages, on the opposite side of the Urumia from St. Sebastian. But owing to the indolence and inactivity of the Spanish generals these successes led to no important result. On the other hand, the Carlists sent out expeditions into various parts of the country, and extorted large contributions from the inhabitants.

The most formidable of these raids was undertaken by Gomez, at the head of 7000 men. Starting from the neighbourhood of Orduna, on the 26th of June, he marched through Asturias into Galicia, and returned loaded with plunder. This success emboldened Gomez to undertake a still more hazardous expedition, to levy men and collect contributions in the southern provinces. In the middle of August he entered

Castile, and moved towards Aragon, spreading alarm to the gates of Madrid. Increasing his force as he proceeded, by drawing to his standard the bands of Cabrera and other partizans, he penetrated from province to province through Valencia and Murcia into the centre of Andalusia, levying heavy contributions and carrying off a mass of booty from every place he visited. The audacity of the enterprise spread consternation over the whole country from Madrid to Gibraltar, and seems for a time to have completely paralysed the Government. Several bodies of troops sent against Gomez were outmarched and outmanœuvred by him, and in several instances completely defeated. At length three separate armies were despatched to surround and cut off the daring Carlist general; but all their efforts to arrest his progress or bring him to bay proved unsuccessful. He was repeatedly placed in imminent danger, when escape seemed impossible; but partly owing to the dilatory movements and mismanagment of the Royalist generals, partly to his own activity and resolution, he always contrived to baffle their attempts, and dragged them helplessly after him. On the 21st of November he reached St. Roque, almost under the cannon of Gibraltar, where he seemed at last hopelessly shut up, with the sea in front and the three Royalist armies hastening to hem him in on the other sides. But, by a daring and masterly movement, he succeeded in breaking through the line that encompassed him, and made good his retreat to the Carlist strongholds in the north. In this most hazardous but successful expedition Gomez marched twice through the kingdom; and though encumbered with prisoners and plunder, and pursued and repeatedly surrounded by three armies, each more numerous than his own, by his vigilance and activity he completely foiled their attempts to entrap him; and though again and again placed in apparently desperate circumstances, he brought back with him nearly the whole of his troops, and by far the greater part of the immense booty which he had collected.

Towards the close of 1836 the important town of Bilbao was again invested by the Carlists, who were eager to obtain possession of it, both because it would give dignity and an appearance of permanence to the court of Don Carlos, and because, as the capital of the Basque province, it was connected in the eyes of the Biscayans with their peculiar privileges and their local parliament. The siege was pressed with remarkable energy and ardour for sixty days. But the garrison, though weakened by sickness and want of proper food, made a vigorous defence. An attempt at storm, on the 26th of October, was repulsed, after a keen struggle, with the loss of 200 men on the part of the assailants. Subsequent assaults on several of the outworks were more successful; but, though hard pressed, the town still held out, and a second attempt at a storm proved a complete failure. At length General Espartero, having collected an army of 12,000 men well provided with artillery and ammunition, advanced to the relief of the place. With the proverbial dilatoriness of Spanish generals, his movements were so slow that it almost seemed as if Bilbao would be left to its fate. But he was at length induced, by the remonstrances of the English naval officers who had come to his assistance, to make a combined and vigorous assault (December 24th) on the lines of the besiegers, in the midst of a violent snow-storm which concealed their operations. It was attended with complete success. After a fierce struggle the Carlists gave way on all sides, and fled in the direction of Durango, leaving behind them their artillery and a considerable number of prisoners.

Great doubts had been expressed from the first by many Liberals respecting the propriety of the step taken with the approval of the Government in raising an auxiliary legion to assist the Spanish Queen in her contest for the throne. Not a few even of those who do not regard all war as unlaw-

ful, contended with great force that whoever engages in it, unless either compelled by the lawful authority of his own rulers, or induced by the claims of his country for defence against a hostile invasion, incurs the guilt of blood. But after the Spanish generals and Ministers had sanctioned putting to death their prisoners in cold blood, and the most shocking massacres had taken place at Madrid and Barcelona, which the Government had failed to prevent or to punish, while insurrection and anarchy were spreading over the whole country, although the British auxiliaries had no participation in these shocking deeds, they were bound to withdraw their aid from a contest carried on in utter violation of the rules of civilized warfare. A continuance of their co-operation with persons of this stamp would have been highly criminal. The treatment received by the officers and soldiers alike of the British Legion was, of itself, sufficient to disgust them with the service in which they had so unwisely engaged. At the outset Don Carlos formally intimated that the British auxiliaries were not entitled to the benefit of Lord Eliot's convention, and those of their number who fell into the hands of the Carlists were put to death in cold blood. They were distrusted, deceived, neglected, and starved by the Spanish Government. Want of proper food, ill-treatment, and disease carried off great numbers of the soldiers. They lost 1000 men in this way at Vittoria in the course of a few weeks, and altogether, out of a force of 9600 men who composed the Legion, upwards of 2000 perished in Spain. Ill-fed, ill-treated, and deceived as they were, they fought resolutely for the cause which they had thoughtlessly espoused. The defeat of the Christinos at Hernani would have been much more disastrous but for the steady valour of a small body of British marines, who checked the advance of the victorious Carlists, and retired to St. Sebastian in good order. A subsequent attack made by General Evans on Irun and Fontarabia was completely successful; but, as usual, he was not cordially supported by the Spanish commanders, and it led to no beneficial or permanent result.

Shortly after the reduction of these places, the time expired for which the British Legion had volunteered its services. The Spanish Government were anxious to renew the engagement, but the General and his men had learned by bitter experience the bankrupt state of the Spanish treasury, and the worthlessness of Spanish promises. Instead of the payment of the large arrears due to them, they were put off with empty promises never intended to be fulfilled. Evans returned to England in June, 1837. A portion of his officers and soldiers remained a little longer. But a strong feeling had arisen in England against permitting British soldiers to risk their lives and shed their blood in a contest with which they had nothing to do, and this feeling was greatly strengthened by the ill success of the Legion. In the month of April, 1837, Sir Henry Hardinge brought the subject before the House of Commons, and, seconded by Sir Stratford Canning, moved an address to the king, praying His Majesty not to renew the Order in Council granting permission to British subjects to enlist in the service of the Queen of Spain. After a debate which lasted three nights, and called forth a number of able speeches on both sides of the question, the motion was rejected by 278 votes to 232. There can be little doubt, however, that the opinions expressed during the discussion by persons of great weight in the House made an impression on the minds of the Ministers, and had considerable influence in inducing them to withdraw in 1838 the Order in Council which had sanctioned the formation of the Legion; and the dissolution of that body accordingly took place.

Although the British auxiliaries withdrew from the contest, the civil war in Spain was carried on as fiercely as ever, and was conducted by both parties with the same brutality and cruelty. Lord Palmerston appealed to Austria, Russia, and Prussia to use their influence with the

Carlists to stop the massacres of their prisoners; but Don Carlos and his partisans were deaf to all appeals on the ground of humanity. Repeated inroads were made by them into the central districts of the kingdom; but these predatory expeditions produced no other effect than that of harassing and plundering the inhabitants. The Royalist generals, concentrating their forces, expelled the Carlists from the provinces into which they had penetrated. Disunion also and strife broke out among the Carlist generals, though Don Carlos himself was present in the camp, and they were compelled to retreat with their booty to their old fastness in the north. But although the main body of the insurgents was thus driven back, guerilla bands roamed over the country, and committed terrible outrages on the defenceless inhabitants in the small towns and villages, plundering and murdering them without restraint.

This shocking system of warfare gradually ceased, from the exhaustion of the Carlist forces. The cause of their chief was now visibly declining. The ablest and most successful of his generals had either fallen in battle or had incurred his displeasure, and were in disgrace, exile, or prison. On the other hand, public feeling on behalf of the young queen was steadily gathering strength. The Royalist generals, Espartero and Leon, after a succession of hard struggles, drove the Carlists out of the plains, and compelled them to take refuge among the mountains. Important towns and fortresses, one after another, submitted to the royal arms in the course of 1839, till almost the only parts of the Basque provinces which acknowledged the authority of Don Carlos were the rugged and almost inaccessible hilly regions, into which no regular army could follow his partisans. At length an armistice was agreed to between the Carlist general Maroto and Espartero, and twenty battalions of the insurgents laid down their arms. Don Carlos himself, reduced to the last extremity, fled for refuge into France, where he formally renounced his pretensions to the Spanish crown. He was for some time detained by the French Government at Bourges, but ultimately retired into Italy with the title of Count de Molina. He died at Trieste in 1855.

The civil war in Portugal was now at an end, and the queen's title to the throne was no longer disputed; but the country was by no means in a state of tranquillity. The queen's second husband was Prince Ferdinand of Saxe Coburg, a nephew of the king of the Belgians, and a member of a family of whom Napoleon said, that if a crown were to fall into the street one of them would be sure to be at hand to pick it up. The Ministry in office at this time were weak, inefficient, especially in finance, and unpopular; and the arrival of the prince at Lisbon produced a new element of political discord. He found the Chamber of Deputies in the act of discussing a Bill for preventing the office of commander-in-chief being held either by the prince himself or any other foreigner. It appears that the queen had excited the jealousy of the Cortes by appointing her first husband to that important position; and in order to prevent the repetition of this unpopular step, a Bill had been brought in and passed by a great majority just before the arrival of Prince Ferdinand; but as it had not received the sanction of the other branch of the Legislature, it was not yet law. At this critical juncture the Ministry resigned, and a new Administration was formed under the Duke of Terceira as Prime Minister. But they had scarcely accepted office when they were seriously embarrassed by riots which broke out in Oporto on account of the high price of bread, and still more by the question regarding the appointment of Prince Ferdinand to the command of the army. It turned out that this was one of the special conditions of the marriage treaty agreed to by the previous Administration. The prince very injudiciously insisted on the fulfilment of this stipulation, and his de-

mand was strenuously supported by the queen. The Ministers yielded, under the impression that they were bound to fulfil the obligation undertaken by their predecessors, and the prince was accordingly declared Commander-in-chief of the army and Colonel of the 5th Regiment of Caçadores. The proceeding, as might have been foreseen, proved very unpopular, and materially hastened a revolution by which the Constitution as well as the Ministry was overthrown. The appointment was keenly discussed in the Chamber of Deputies; and their former resolution condemning it as unconstitutional was reaffirmed. The Ministers, indignant at this defeat, dissolved the Chamber in less than a week after it had met, and issued writs for a new election. The returns were not favourable to the Government, and they postponed the meeting of the Cortes to the 11th of September, evidently under the impression that the irritation which their conduct had excited was only temporary and would speedily pass away.

There appeared no reason, indeed, to apprehend that any deep-seated or dangerous popular discontent existed at that time. The charter which Don Pedro had granted had been cordially welcomed by the great body of the people, and no complaints had been made against its operation; and there appeared no ground for a hostile movement against either the form of government or the crown. But a revolutionary plot must have been in existence for some time before this among the National Guards and the soldiers, for it turned out that the troops of the line had already been seduced from their allegiance. The successful military revolution which a few weeks previously had taken place in Spain was probably the immediate cause of the outbreak that took place in Lisbon. On the night of the 9th September the National Guards of Lisbon rose in arms, and were joined by the garrison, foremost among whom was the 5th Regiment of Caçadores, of which Prince Ferdinand had been newly appointed Colonel. The insurgents insisted that the queen should forthwith dismiss her Ministers, annul the charter, and proclaim the Constitution of September 23rd, 1823. As Her Majesty was completely at the mercy of the armed band who surrounded the palace, and declared that they would remain in arms till they had received a favourable answer, she had no resource but to comply with their demands. A new Ministry was immediately formed, chiefly composed of the leaders of the mutineers; and Prince Ferdinand was deprived of his command. The great body of the people, as well as the influential classes, held aloof from the outbreak, which they regarded with indignation and alarm; and nearly all the nobility, the higher orders of the clergy, and most of the persons holding official situations, peremptorily refused to take the oath to the new Constitution. The Peers, whose existence as a separate Legislature was abolished, protested to the queen against these revolutionary measures, but of course without effect.

An ill-concerted attempt at a counter revolution, which proved unsuccessful, served only to subject the queen to further humiliation, and to strengthen the hands of the new Ministers. In order to gain popularity they suppressed some of the public offices, and reduced the number of persons employed, and the salaries of those that were retained. They imposed a tax on each parish for the support of the local clergy, and introduced a preposterous and most unfair tariff of custom-house duties on vessels sailing from Portuguese harbours. They cherished no good-will towards the British nation and Government, and gave intimation that the commercial treaty between the two countries would not be renewed on such favourable conditions. The privileges which British residents in Portugal had long enjoyed under treaties repeatedly confirmed were systematically violated. The claims of the British volunteer troops, who had contributed so largely to bring the civil war to a successful termination, were still

unsettled; but though payment had been formally guaranteed by the Government, they were put off from time to time, after the Portuguese fashion, with empty promises. The earnest exertions of Lord Howard de Walden, the British ambassador, to obtain justice for these officers and soldiers, many of whom were in great distress, proved utterly unavailing.

It would be tedious and uninteresting to narrate all the changes of Ministry and all the outbreaks of the people which followed the overthrow of the charter and the restoration of the Constitution of 1822. The 'Triumvir' Government, as it was termed, speedily broke down, partly in consequence of the incapacity of its members, partly through its financial difficulties. The Ministry of Oliveire, which followed, was not of much longer continuance, and was replaced by an Administration in which the Viscount Sadebandeira was reappointed to the Presidency of the Council. Amid all these shiftings of office the state of the public finances became every day more hopeless. The treasury was empty; all public servants of every grade were unpaid; taxes and duties, old and new alike, were unproductive; the little they yielded became still less before it reached the exchequer; and the Government found it impossible to raise loans even on the most liberal terms. To add to the perplexities of the sovereign and the sufferings of the people, guerillas swarmed in almost every district; and in the south the country was ravaged by a formidable band of rebel banditti, commanded by a noted chief named Remechido, whose ostensible object was to excite a rising in favour of Don Miguel. He kept the southern provinces in constant terror, till he was at length captured and shot. A military rising in favour of the charter took place in the northern provinces about the middle of July, 1837, and speedily acquired considerable strength. The insurgents were joined by the Baron de Leiria, the Marquis de Saldanha, and the Duke of Terceira, and it was alleged that the Court was privy to their plans. Desertions on the part both of the National Guards and the troops of the line took place to an alarming extent, and it appeared highly probable that the insurrection would be crowned with complete success. But the Viscount Das Antas, who commanded a Portuguese auxiliary division in Spain, marched against the insurgent forces under Saldanha and Terceira, and came up with them on the 18th of September, at a place near Chaves. After a sharp but brief contest they gave way, and dispersed in all directions. Their leaders abandoned the contest on favourable terms granted them by the victorious general, and the civil war came to an end. This event was followed by the birth, on the 31st of October, of an heir to the crown, who received the title of Duke of Oporto, and is now the reigning king.

CHAPTER XIV.

Result of the General Election of 1837—Opening of the new Parliament—The Civil List—Committee appointed on the Pension List—State of affairs in Canada—Constitution of the two Provinces—Jobbery and mismanagement in Upper Canada—The Family Compact—Position of the French Canadians—Antagonism between them and the British settlers—Conduct of the Assembly in Lower Canada—Their refusal to vote the Supplies—Appointment of Commission to investigate affairs—Major Head nominated Governor of Upper Canada—His mode of procedure—Demands of the Assembly in Lower Canada—Resolutions adopted by the British Parliament—M. Papineau and the French Canadians—Policy of the Local Government in Upper Canada—Rebellion in the Lower Province—Defeat of the Rebels—Outbreak in the Upper Province—Its suppression—American Sympathizers—Recall of Major Head—Character and severe policy of his successor—American Filibusterers—Lord Durham's disapproval of Sir George Arthur's proceedings—Suspension of the Constitution of Lower Canada—Lord Durham appointed High Commissioner—His illegal proceedings—Attacks upon him by Lord Brougham and the Conservative Peers—His Ordinance disallowed—His resignation and return—His defence of his policy and its results—Renewal of the Rebellion in Canada—Its suppression—Lord Durham's Report—Its influence on the subsequent Government of the Canadas.

THE general election, which took place in 1837, made no material alteration in the relative strength of the two political parties. The Conservatives gained a number of seats in the English counties, but their gains were counterbalanced by their losses in the boroughs, and especially in Ireland. Sir James Graham was rejected by the electors of East Cumberland, and on the other hand Mr. Joseph Hume lost his seat for Middlesex. Sir William Molesworth, whose Radical opinions had displeased an influential portion of his constituents, retired from East Cornwall, and was returned for Leeds. Mr. Ward, the originator of the Appropriation Clause, was elected one of the members for Sheffield. Mr. Grote, who, at the first election after the Reform Bill, stood at the head of the poll for the city of London, was now at the foot, with a majority of only six above the Conservative candidate—a significant indication of the change in public opinion. Sir Francis Burdett, satisfied with his recent victory, and with good reason doubtful whether it would be repeated, retired from the representation of Westminster,* leaving the seat to be filled by his late opponent, Mr. Leader, who defeated by a large majority the Conservative candidate, Sir George Murray. The old Radical baronet was returned for North Wilts, a constituency more in sympathy with his new political opinions. On the whole, the Government kept their ground as to numbers, and had still a small majority in the House of Commons; but their real strength was immensely increased by the substitution of a young, popular, friendly female sovereign for an old and hostile king. There was a deep sympathy felt throughout the country for the interesting and youthful queen so suddenly elevated to the throne, and a strong feeling that it would be disloyal and unkind to force upon her an unacceptable Ministry at the very commencement of her reign. Some 'lewd fellows of the baser sort' connected with the Conservative party cherished, however, a very different feeling, and were so bitterly mortified at the favour which the Queen

* Sir Francis retired from Westminster on the plea of old age and infirm health. The Conservatives took advantage of the position in which Mr. Paul Methuen, the Whig representative of North Wilts, was placed in consequence of the death of his eldest son, to present a requisition to the old Radical leader, inviting him to become a candidate for the division. The invitation was promptly and most cordially accepted; and the requisitionists were informed by Sir Francis that his health was now completely restored. H. B. hit off the incident in one of his happiest sketches, representing Sir Francis hobbling up on crutches to a huge machine, labelled, 'A mill for grinding old men young,' and emerging from the other end the spruce and alert, spick and span new candidate for North Wilts. Sir Walter Scott, who thoroughly appreciated the real character of Burdett's Radicalism, wrote of him so early as 1809, 'No lover was ever so jealous of his mistress as Sir Francis is of his mob popularity—witness the fate of Paul, Tierney, even Wardle: in short, of whomsoever presumed to rival the brazen image which the mob of Westminster have set up.'

showed to the Liberal party that, in gross violation both of the dictates of loyalty and of respect for her sex, they had the baseness, in their after-dinner speeches, to throw out slanderous insinuations and abuse against the character and conduct of their young sovereign.

The new Parliament met on the 30th of November, and was opened by the Queen in person. The address in reply to Her Majesty's speech was, at his own request, with great propriety moved by the Duke of Sussex, who had been throughout life more constant than any of his brothers in fidelity to the principles of civil and religious liberty. It was unanimously adopted by the House of Lords; but in the House of Commons three amendments were proposed, recommending an extension of the suffrage, vote by ballot, and triennial parliaments. The first was negatived by a majority of 509 to 20, and the other two were withdrawn, as was also an amendment of D. Whittle Harvey, proposing to bring the hereditary revenues of the crown more directly under the control of Parliament, and to procure a revision of the pension list.

The most urgent business brought at this time before Parliament was the settlement of the civil list. Like her predecessor, the Queen placed the whole of her hereditary revenues at the disposal of the Legislature, and left it to the Parliament to make adequate provision for the support of the crown. Lord Spencer had written to the Premier, recommending that the royal establishment should ungrudgingly be formed on a liberal scale. Fortified by this high authority, Lord Melbourne made up his mind to propose to Parliament that the provision for Her Majesty should be fixed at £385,000, which was £10,000 more than had been enjoyed by her immediate predecessor. An attempt was made by Mr. Hume and some other members of the economical school to reduce the grant by £50,000, on the ground of the prevalent distress; but the proposal obtained only 19 votes against 199. Another motion in favour of a reduction of £10,000 procured the support of 41 members against a majority of 173. Some members maintained that the provision was too liberal, and that a young and unmarried sovereign had no need of such a large income; but even they changed their opinion when they learned that Her Majesty had paid off the whole of her father's debts, as well as the much smaller amount contracted by her mother in educating and training the Princess for her future position and duties; and that in addition she had granted to the members of the Fitz-Clarence family, out of the privy purse, the same allowance which they had enjoyed during the lifetime of their father.

The pension list was not so easily settled. During the reigns of George III. and his immediate successor pensions had been lavished in the most extravagant and scandalous manner on the favourites and supporters of the Ministry; and, as we have seen, the relatives and friends of the members of the Government, and of great noblemen possessed of large estates, were quartered in hundreds on the national revenues. At the death of George III. the pension list amounted to £203,000. In 1830 the amount had been diminished to £180,000. On the accession of King William pensions to the amount of £75,000 a year were placed on the civil list; the remainder were charged to the consolidated fund. In 1834 a resolution was adopted by the House of Commons, recommending that pensions should be granted to such persons only as by their services to the crown or the public, or by useful discoveries in science or art, had a just claim on the benevolence of the crown or the gratitude of the nation. It was asserted, and not denied, that the pensions bestowed on the recommendation of Earl Grey and Lord Melbourne had been awarded in strict conformity with this resolution. A section of the Liberal party were, however, still dissatisfied with the arrangement proposed for

the regulation of the pension list, and Mr. Whittle Harvey renewed his former motion for the appointment of a committee who should make full inquiry into the circumstances under which each pension had been granted. The Ministry refused to support Harvey's proposal, but agreed to appoint a committee to inquire how far the pensions charged on the civil list and the consolidated fund ought to be continued, 'having due regard to the just claims of the parties, and to economy in the public expenditure.' The proposed inquiry was vehemently opposed by the Conservative party, no doubt because the greater proportion of the pensions complained of had been granted under the advice of Conservative ministers; and Sir Robert Peel, Lord Stanley, and other leading members of the party, delivered powerful speeches in opposition to the motion, which they denounced as both unjust and impolitic, and as an unwarrantable interference with the rights of the individuals on whom these pensions had been conferred. The proposal of the Ministry was, however, adopted by a majority of 295 votes to 283, and a committee was accordingly appointed; but Mr. Harvey himself was excluded from it, because he refused to promise that he would not publish a report of the proceedings, as he did in the case of the Poor Law Committee. The saving effected by the investigations of the committee amounted after all only to £3400; but the ultimate result was highly beneficial, both as regards the satisfaction of the public and the bestowal of future pensions. It was resolved that the right of the Crown to grant pensions should henceforth be limited to £1200 annually; and on the suggestion of Peel, it was agreed that if the amount specified should not be given in any one year, the savings might be granted in a succeeding year. Loud complaints were made at the time, and have since been frequently repeated, that this limited sum is totally inadequate to reward eminent services rendered to the Crown, and at the same time to recompense or support men of science, authors, and artists, who are eminent benefactors of society, but whose pursuits seldom meet with an adequate pecuniary return.

The Government had intended to adjourn the Parliament to the 1st of February, 1838, as soon as the arrangements respecting the civil list, the grant to the Duchess of Kent, the mother of the Queen, and other pecuniary matters had been settled; but the news which at this time arrived respecting the troubles that had broken out in Canada induced them to propose that Parliament should re-assemble on the 16th of January.

When Canada became a British possession in 1763, on the victory of General Wolfe at Quebec, its population was only 70,000. It was governed under the old French arbitrary system, which was abolished in France at the Revolution; and when the colony became an appanage of Britain the inhabitants, who were nearly all of French origin, were guaranteed the enjoyment of their rights and customs. After the conclusion of the American war, great numbers from England and Scotland emigrated to Canada, and speedily expressed their dissatisfaction with institutions so different from those of their native country. They obtained a legislature more in accordance with the constitution of the mother country, consisting of a House of Representatives elected by the 40*s.* freeholders and a Council appointed by the Crown. The French inhabitants, however, took the alarm, and apprehended that their hereditary institutions, and especially their religion, would be endangered under a British system of government. They declared themselves averse to constitutional changes, and wished to retain their old habits and customs. Lower Canada was almost entirely in the hands of the French, while the British settlers had taken possession of the extensive unoccupied territory in the west. In order to meet the views of both parties, separate constitutions were injudiciously granted in 1791 to the two provinces

Lower Canada was allowed to retain the old system of government which the original settlers had brought with them from France; and though it was justly designated as a 'central, ill-organized, unimproving, and repressive despotism,' it satisfied the people, and they were contented to remain 'an old and stationary society in a new and progressive world.' Both provinces, indeed, obtained a Legislative Council appointed by the Crown and a House of Assembly chosen by the people, but they differed widely in their composition.

In Upper Canada the House of Assembly, as well as the Legislative Council, was composed of British settlers, and the two usually worked together harmoniously. This harmony was all the greater that they were both extremely dissatisfied with the Executive Council, composed of permanent officials with the Governor at their head, who were responsible to the British Crown and Parliament, and not to the people of Canada. As might have been expected, the Executive department frequently acted in opposition to public opinion, as well as to the expressed wishes of the popular branch of the legislature. The administration of public affairs had long been in the hands of a few wealthy families, who, as Lord Durham's Report affirmed, filled 'the bench, the magistracy, the high offices of the Episcopal Church, and a great part of the legal profession,' and by grant or purchase had obtained possession of nearly all the unoccupied lands of the province. It was undeniable that numerous abuses had crept into the administration; and it was confidently affirmed, and generally believed, that these were fostered by the high functionaries holding irresponsible offices, and who, it was alleged, guided the councils of successive Governors more to their own advantage than to the interests of the province. In consequence of the lax and corrupt administration of the Executive, the country had been brought to the verge of bankruptcy, a debt of £1,000,000 having been accumulated, while the public revenue amounted to only £60,000 a year. In order to redress these grievances, the inhabitants of Upper Canada were strongly of opinion that the Executive Council should be made responsible to the Provincial Legislature.

The position of Lower Canada was quite different. For a good many years after 1791 the inhabitants of this province led a quiet, easy, contented life, not troubling themselves about political affairs. But after the conclusion of the protracted continental war, many thousands of Englishmen and Scotsmen emigrated to Canada, carrying with them the active, energetic, pushing habits of their race. They purchased and improved extensive tracts of land. They instituted mercantile establishments, and soon absorbed a large portion of the trade of the province. The original French inhabitants, differing in language, religion, education, and manners and customs from the recent immigrants, naturally became jealous of the new and enterprising settlers and alarmed at their superiority; and their apprehensions increased when the new comers succeeded in obtaining the Canada Trade Act and the Canada Tenures Act, which placed the newly settled land of the colony under English law. As the French Canadians were greatly superior in numbers, they had no difficulty in obtaining a decided majority in the House of Assembly. On the other hand, the Legislative Council appointed by the Crown was mainly composed of the representatives of the English and Scottish settlers. Of course these two branches of the Legislature did not work in harmony. The measures carried by the Assembly were systematically thrown out by the Council, and the reforms which were demanded by the representatives of the French Canadians were doggedly refused by the representatives of the British settlers. There could be no doubt that the former had good reason to complain of the abuses which had accumulated under the old system of corruption and jobbery.

The whole of the minerals of Cape Breton had, by a shameful act of the Government, been granted to the impecunious Duke of York, and assigned by him to his creditors. One-seventh of all the land in Canada had been bestowed on the Church, and another seventh had been retained by the Crown in its own hands. The South American Land Company had obtained an immense tract of unoccupied land in Lower Canada for the sum of £120,000, and numerous jobs of the same kind had been perpetrated by the Executive. The British Government had assigned for educational purposes the estates originally held by the Jesuits; but successive Governors, in gross violation both of law and justice, had diverted these estates from their proper purpose to form a kind of secret service fund.

The revenues of the colony had been placed under the control of the Provincial Legislature by an Act of the British Parliament passed in 1778; but the Canadians insisted that the Act should have a retrospective effect, and that they should obtain authority over the entire property and revenues of the colony, including those which existed before the date of that Act. It was not, however, until 1831 that their request was granted by the Home Government and Legislature. But the House of Assembly was still dissatisfied. They had previously complained of the mode in which the judges were nominated, the public money disposed of, and defaulters prosecuted. They now demanded that the hereditary revenues of the Crown should be placed under their charge, that the Tenure Act should be repealed, that the South American Land Company should be deprived of their privileges without any respect to the rights which they held under an Act of the British Parliament, and that the Legislative Council should be made elective. It has been confidently asserted that, if the British Government had in the first instance conceded the claims of the Canadians, these demands would never have been raised; but this is by no means certain, for the leaders of the French party in Lower Canada had before this time formed the resolution to employ every means to sever the connection of the colony with Great Britain, and to erect the province into a new state. They could not have expected that the Home Government would comply with demands which would have placed the British settlers at the mercy of the French inhabitants; but they made their refusal a pretext for stopping the supplies, and declining to make any provision either for the administration of justice, or for the civil government of the colony. The salaries of the public officers of every grade, and even of the judges, were left unpaid for four years and a half, until the arrears amounted to £142,160.

The government of the colony was thus brought to a deadlock, and neither party would give way. The House of Assembly, in 1834, passed a series of ninety-two resolutions enumerating the grievances of which they demanded the redress; but the attention of Parliament was so absorbed in the struggle between the two political parties for place and power, that they had no time to spare for the consideration of colonial grievances and demands. After the restoration of the Whig Ministry to office, however, in 1835, they resolved to send out a Commission to investigate the state of affairs in Canada. The commissioners appointed to discharge this difficult duty were Lord Gosford, who was appointed Governor of Lower Canada; Sir George Gipps, a military officer; and Sir Charles Grey, who had been Chief-Justice of Bengal—the former, according to Roebuck, a snarling Whig, the latter an arrogant Tory. Major Head, who had done good service as a Poor Law Commissioner, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Upper Province. The difficulties the commissioners had to encounter were considerably aggravated by the reckless and foolish conduct of the king, who told Sir George Grey, in the presence of his ministers, that

he was to bear in mind that Lower Canada had not, like other British colonies, been peopled from the mother country, but had been obtained by the sword; and that he was strenuously to assert the prerogatives of the Crown, of which 'persons who ought to have known better had dared, even in his presence, to deny the existence.' A few days later he said to Lord Gosford with an oath, 'I will never consent to alienate the Crown lands, nor to make the Council elective.' When Lord Glenelg read to him the draft of the instructions to the commissioners, the king insisted that the words 'conciliatory' and 'liberal' should be struck out; and while the instructions declared that His Majesty 'would not absolutely close the avenue to inquiry, they explicitly stated that he was 'most unwilling to admit as open to debate the question whether one of the vital principles of the provincial Government should undergo alteration.'

Lord Gosford, on his arrival in Canada, did not publish the instructions he had received, but contented himself with describing them as liberal. They soon became known, however, through the indiscretion of Major Head; and the majority of the House of Assembly indignantly reiterated their demands in an address to the king, and refused to grant supplies for more than six months. A conciliatory despatch was sent by Lord Glenelg in reply to their remonstrance; but the dissatisfied party persisted in their demands, and sent another address drawn up, as the Colonial Secretary said, 'in a tone of menace and defiance, which left no doubt as to the feeling and determination of the body from which it emanated.' Glenelg was perfectly justified in describing the address in these terms, for it is quite certain that the leaders of the French party were bent on dissolving the connection of Lower Canada and erecting the province into an independent state. The demands of the House of Assembly were brought before Parliament, on the 6th of March, 1837, by Lord John Russell, who moved a series of ten resolutions declining to comply with the wishes of the colonists in regard to the Legislative Council, the Land Company, and the appropriation of the public money to pay the arrears of salaries and other expenses, but agreeing to repeal the Tenures Act, to exclude the judges from the Legislative Council, and to make several concessions on other minor points. These resolutions were strenuously opposed by Leader, Roebuck, O'Connell, Sir William Molesworth, and other leaders of the Radical party, who insisted that the Legislative Council ought to be made an elective body. But the original resolution on this point was carried, with the assistance of the Conservative party, by a majority of 318 against 56. The resolution that 'it is unadvisable to subject the Executive Council in Lower Canada to the responsibility demanded by the House of Assembly in that province,' was adopted by 269 votes against 46. Only six votes were given against the declaration that the rights of the Land Company, conferred by Act of Parliament, should be preserved inviolate, while 166 were given in its favour.

In the Upper House Lord Brougham was the only peer who expressed his dissatisfaction with the Ministerial policy, especially with regard to the resolution authorizing the Receiver-General of the Colony to apply the money in his hands, arising from the hereditary, territorial, and casual revenues, to the payment of the arrears due for the support of the civil government of the colony. The resolutions thus adopted by both Houses of Parliament were formally communicated to Lord Gosford, who at once summoned a meeting of the House of Assembly, and laid before it the decisions of the British Legislature. He had called it together, he said, mainly to afford the members an opportunity of granting the requisite supplies; and he was commanded to express his anxious hope that he would not be compelled to exercise the powers with which the Imperial Parliament had invested him, in order to discharge

the arrears due to the servants of the colony for the payment of which the faith of the Crown had been repeatedly pledged.

The House of Assembly, however, were resolved to make no concessions, and not to abate one jot of their demands. They protested against the arbitrary conduct of the Home Government; and declared it to be their duty to tell the mother country that 'if she carries the spirit of these resolutions into effect, her supremacy will no longer depend on the feelings of affection, of duty, and of material interest which would best secure it, but on physical force.' The Governor, on this, dissolved the Assembly; but this step only served to increase the agitation existing in the colony. The newspapers were filled with seditious articles exciting the people to armed resistance; and meetings were held at which violent speeches were made, and equally violent resolutions passed. Everything betokened an imminent outbreak. The use of British goods was denounced, and smuggling across the American frontier was openly recommended. The 'Patriots,' as they were called, began to assemble in arms; and, on the other hand, the 'Loyalists' formed themselves into regiments of Volunteers, armed and disciplined, in support of the British Government, and prepared to repel force by force.

The leader of the French-Canadian party at this time was M. Papineau, a person of considerable ability and energy, but not of much judgment, who had represented Montreal in the House of Assembly, and afterwards became its Speaker. He held a series of meetings throughout the province, at which very violent speeches were made by him and his coadjutors, containing significant appeals to the successful revolt of the United States. He convened a great assembly at St. Charles, which he termed the 'meeting of the five counties,' attended by delegates from various places, apparently ripe for rebellion. Riots naturally occurred. Conflicts took place in the streets of Montreal between the 'Loyalists' and the 'Patriots,' in which the latter were worsted. A party of volunteer cavalry, who were escorting some prisoners, were attacked by an overwhelming body of the insurgents, and the prisoners rescued. It was evident that civil war was impending, and the Governor took prompt measures to maintain the authority of the Crown.

Apprehensions were entertained that the discontented section of the people in Upper Canada would unite with the insurgents in the Lower Province. But though well-founded complaints were made against the Executive, and the mode in which power and patronage were monopolized by the 'Family Compact,' the inhabitants as a body had no sympathy with the French Canadians in Lower Canada. They could not obtain access to the sea-board except through that province, and they were subjected to serious hindrances and troubles in carrying on their trade and commerce. This and other grievances, together with their differences in religion and in manners and customs, prevented them from making common cause with the people of the Lower Province in their contest with the British Government. They were, however, not unwilling to avail themselves of the opportunity to obtain redress of their own grievances, and both the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly were bent on making the Executive Council responsible to the Provincial Legislature.

The Governor quarrelled with them, and also with the Executive Council, who had remonstrated against his conduct; and exercising his prerogative, he dissolved the Assembly. A keen contest took place in the election of the new Provincial Parliament. But Major Head dexterously contrived to represent the question at issue as that of 'Connection with the mother country' or 'Separation.' He spared no exertions to secure the election of candidates favourable to his policy. He rode all over the province, harangued the farmers, appealed to their patriotism and loyalty, and excited them to a perfect fervour of devotion to the connection with Great

Britain. By such energetic electioneering tactics, together with the exercise of his official power and patronage, the Governor succeeded in procuring the return of an Assembly in which his supporters were more than double the number of his opponents. Laying aside the agitation for organic changes, they set themselves at once to the discharge of their ordinary duties, and directed their attention to the promotion of the material interests of the colony. They voted the sum of £500,000 to be applied to the improvement of the roads—a very necessary step. They took into consideration the question of the clergy reserves, which had excited a protracted and violent agitation in the colony; and a resolution, moved by the Solicitor-General, declaring it to be the opinion of the House, 'that the proceeds arising from the sales of "Clergy Reserves" should be applied to the purposes of moral and religious education,' was carried by a considerable majority. Attempts were also made to abolish the laws of primogeniture and imprisonment for debt; and numerous Bills were passed relating to railways, harbours, and markets, to navigation, to the establishment of boundaries, and to the regulation of banks. The Assembly also made more ample provision for the administration of justice, for the support and advancement of education, for protection and security of trade and shipping, and for the introduction of a new and improved system in the land-granting department.

While the Provincial Legislature of Upper Canada was thus carrying on the work of internal improvement, the dispute between the Executive and the French inhabitants of Lower Canada had come to a crisis. Information having reached the Governor, Lord Gosford, that a number of the malcontents had appeared in arms at the villages of St. Denis and St. Charles, on the right bank of the river Richelieu, it was resolved to arrest Papineau and three other leaders. Strong detachments of troops were accordingly sent against these villages in aid of the civil authorities. The attack upon St. Denis by Colonel Gore, on the 22nd of November, was repulsed with a loss of six men killed and ten wounded; but Lieutenant-Colonel Wetherell carried St. Charles after a stout resistance, in which the insurgents met with considerable loss. Only three of the royal troops were killed and eighteen wounded. On this the rebels posted at St. Denis abandoned that position, and all the armed bands on the banks of the Richelieu dispersed. Their leaders fled for refuge to the United States.

The revolt on the south bank of the St. Lawrence having been thus speedily and easily suppressed, the British Commander-in-Chief, Sir John Colborne, moved his whole disposable force (December 14th) upon the county of the Two Mountains, where the spirit of disaffection first made its appearance, and displayed itself with the greatest violence. The troops under his charge amounted to only 1300 men. The insurgents had intrenched themselves in the village of St. Eustache. On Sir John's approach a number of them took to flight; the remainder made a determined resistance, but were driven out with the loss of at least 100 killed and 120 made prisoners. On the following day, Colborne advanced upon St. Benoit, the headquarters of the insurgents; but on his march thither he met a deputation of their number, who announced the flight of their leaders, and offered to make an unconditional surrender. The insurgents accordingly laid down their arms, and were allowed to depart unpunished. 'Thus,' said Lord Gosford in his despatch, 'have the measures adopted for putting down this reckless revolt been crowned with success. Wherever an armed body has shown itself, it has been completely dispersed. The principal leaders and instigators have been killed, taken, or forced into exile. There is no longer a head, concert, or organization amongst the deluded and betrayed inhabitants. Papineau himself retired into the United States, and other eight of the ringleaders also made

their escape, four were killed, and eight were captured. Within the course of a month the rebellion was completely suppressed.'

When the revolt broke out in the Lower Province, the malcontents in Upper Canada also threatened to rise in arms against the Government, and to sever the connection with the mother country. The Governor, however, resolved to send the whole troops at his disposal to assist Sir John Colborne against the rebels in Lower Canada, and to trust to the militia and the volunteers of the Upper Province to defend it against any insurrection that might take place there. He did not, he said, want a single soldier to remain with him; and he reposed such confidence in the general loyalty of the colonists, that he was ready to spare a large portion even of the militia for the service of Lower Canada. The merit of this peculiar but bold and judicious policy has usually been ascribed entirely to the Governor, who in so doing 'acted,' it is said, 'with the true genius of a ruler.' But Sir Francis Head himself has explicitly declared that the credit of this procedure belongs, not to him, but to Sir John Colborne. 'Many people,' he says, 'have blamed, and I believe still blame me, for having, as they say, sent the troops out of the province. I, however, did no such thing. Sir John Colborne, the commander of the forces in Canada, felt that he required the whole of them to defend the Lower Province; and deeming the moral powers, which he saw I possessed, sufficient, he offered me a couple of companies only; and then, without consulting me, recalled the whole of the remainder of the troops.' Sir Francis, however, saw that the two companies left him were quite insufficient to guard the province; and he was of opinion that, since the defence of it was to be in reality left to the colonists, it was better that they should feel the entire responsibility. He therefore sent the two companies after the main body, to join the forces under Sir John Colborne. The result fully justified his confidence. The militia and the volunteers, who hastened with enthusiastic unanimity to the assistance of the Governor, proved amply sufficient to defend the Upper Province against the disloyal insurgents.

Major Head, however, carried his confidence to a dangerous extent when he asserted that 'there exists no body of men in this province who would dare to attack Government property under the protection of the civil authorities of Toronto;' and he informed Lord Glenelg that he had not the slightest apprehension that any disturturbance of importance would be made in the province during the coming winter. So confident was he that no rising would take place, that he left 4000 stand of arms in the City Hall of Toronto, in charge of two constables. But at this very time a plot had been formed to raise the standard of rebellion and to make an attack upon Toronto, which was on the very eve of being carried into effect. The ringleader of the conspirators was an individual of the name of William Lyon Mackenzie, who had emigrated from Scotland about eighteen years before. He was originally a pedlar, but by his talents and industry had risen to a position of considerable influence. He was the editor of a newspaper, and one of the principal leaders of the Reformers in the province, and was elected a member of the House of Assembly, from which, however, he had been twice expelled on the ground that he had 'published fabricated and reiterated libels of the grossest description.' He visited England in 1832, as the delegate of his party, and appears to have been received at the Colonial Office with every mark of respect. His mission and representations were, however, indignantly disclaimed by the Provincial Parliament; but he succeeded, in 1833, in regaining a seat in the House of Assembly, where his party had now obtained a large majority.

Major Head came out with a decided leaning in favour of the 'Reformers;' but he speedily changed his views, and

became their most strenuous opponent. As the great majority of the new House of Assembly were decidedly hostile to their views, Mackenzie and his associates resolved to make an attempt to gain the supremacy by force of arms, and made secret preparations for raising the standard of rebellion. The Governor and his official advisers persistently shut their eyes to the dangers that menaced the peace and security of the province; but fortunately Colonel Fitzgibbon, a veteran military officer who acted as Adjutant-General of the militia, on his own authority organized a volunteer corps for the protection of Toronto against the meditated attack. A body of insurgents, about 500 in number, commanded by Mackenzie; Van Egmont, an officer who had served under Napoleon; Gibson, a land surveyor; and Lount, a blacksmith—assembled at Montgomery's Tavern, about four miles from Toronto, on the night of the 4th December, 1837, and prepared to make a sudden inroad upon the city, which they expected to find quite unprepared to resist them. They arrested every person on the road, in order to prevent information of their approach reaching the town; and Colonel Montgomery, a distinguished veteran officer who resided in the neighbourhood, on passing the tavern, was fired at and mortally wounded. But Colonel Fitzgibbon had fortunately collected the volunteers in the City Hall, and set the alarm bells ringing. The insurgents, on hearing their sound, concluded that the city was prepared to resist them, and postponed their attack till the next day (Tuesday). On that day volunteers poured in so rapidly that Colonel Fitzgibbon found himself at the head of 500 men, somewhat disciplined and all well armed. An advanced picket, commanded by Mr. Sheriff Jervis, was attacked in the suburbs of the city by the rebels, who, however, were driven back, one of their party being killed and several wounded. In the evening another picket, sent out by Colonel Fitzgibbon to guard the entrance of the town, came upon a body of the rebels, and drove them back with some loss. On Wednesday, disheartened by Mackenzie's pusillanimity, his followers began to disperse. He had been guilty of several gross outrages, had robbed the mail, seized a number of horses, set fire to the houses of the loyalists in the district, and had made prisoners and plundered a good many respectable individuals who were on their journey; but he had not the courage to follow the advice of one of his chief supporters, who had urged him at once to attack the city. While the strength of the rebels was hourly diminishing, the militia were pouring in from all quarters, many of them having marched, in that inclement season, a hundred miles from their own homes. On Thursday morning Colonel Fitzgibbon at length obtained permission from the Governor to march out against the rebels; and after a brief combat, the militia, without the loss of a single man, drove them out of their position at Montgomery's Tavern, and put them to flight. Mackenzie, who seems to have been a poor creature, ran away in a state of the greatest agitation, and in female disguise, to Buffalo in the State of New York; a number of his deluded followers were taken prisoners, but were immediately released and dismissed to their homes. In the course of a week this contemptible rising was completely suppressed, and perfect tranquillity restored throughout the province.

Some American 'Sympathizers,' however, on the frontier thought this a favourable opportunity to invade the province. Several hundreds of them enrolled themselves as soldiers for this avowed object. Public meetings were held to encourage the enterprise, and arms, ammunition, and provisions openly contributed. The State arsenals were broken open in the most public manner, and artillery and munitions of war belonging to the American Government abstracted and distributed, in defiance of the authorities, to the persons who were about to invade the territory of a friendly

power. These buccaneers, under the command of a Mr. Van Rensselear, took possession of a small wooded island on the Niagara river, belonging to Canada, threw up intrenchments, which they fortified with artillery, and opened fire upon the Canadian shore, which in that quarter is thickly peopled. They might have been expelled at once without difficulty; but the Governor thought fit, for reasons which are quite inexplicable, to allow them to retain possession of the island for several weeks, firing on the Canadian villages, and picking off men by chance shots. These piratical adventurers drew their supplies from a place called Fort Schlosser—a solitary tavern with a wharf attached—on the American shore; and Colonel M'Nab, who commanded a body of militia on the Canadian side, having received intelligence that a small steamer, called the *Caroline*, had been hired by them to keep up communication with the mainland, and had conveyed not only their stores but a piece of artillery, resolved to destroy her. He accordingly despatched a party of militia for that purpose (28th of December). They found the vessel moored to the wharf opposite the tavern, with a strong body of men on board, and another party on shore ready to assist in repelling an attack. The militia immediately boarded, and carried the vessel, after a short but fierce contest, in which five or six of the enemy were killed and a considerable number of the militia severely wounded, and then setting her on fire, suffered her to drift down the Falls of Niagara.

This incident caused a good deal of excitement in the States, and most exaggerated stories were circulated regarding it; but the true character of the pirate vessel speedily became known, and the authorities of the United States judiciously abstained from raising any formal question respecting the violation of their territory by the detachment that destroyed the *Caroline*. A sufficient force had been collected in the course of a few days to dislodge the freebooters who had intrenched themselves on Navy Island; but when the Governor at length gave permission to attack them, they decamped without waiting an assault on the night of January 14. On reaching the territory of the United States, their leader, Van Rensselear, was arrested by the American authorities, who at the same time regained possession of the arms and stores which had been abstracted from their arsenals. Demonstrations were made in other quarters by these so-called 'patriots,' most of whom were American filibusters. One party showed themselves at Detroit, in Michigan, another at Kingston, near the north-eastern end of Lake Ontario; but they took to flight as soon as a body of British troops made their appearance. Another band of these brigands took up a position on Point Pelès Island, on Lake Erie. A detachment of troops under the command of Colonel Maitland marched from the mainland twenty miles over the frozen lake to dislodge them. A sharp encounter ensued, in which a considerable number of the party were killed or taken prisoners. The British lost only two men, but thirty were severely wounded. The President and the Governors of some of the States issued proclamations against these piratical expeditions; but the inhabitants of Upper Canada complained that no effectual measures were taken to restrain or punish the depredators, and apprehensions were at one time entertained, which were happily unfounded, that the exasperated yeomen of the province might retaliate on their lawless neighbours these violations of neutral rights.

The Home Government were by no means satisfied with the somewhat impulsive and erratic behaviour of Major Head before and during the rebellion in Upper Canada. Several misunderstandings arose between him and his superiors, and they at last culminated in his positive refusal to carry out the injunctions of the Colonial Secretary. On the 15th of January, 1838, he informed the Provincial Parliament

that 'having had the misfortune to differ from Her Majesty's Government on one or two points of colonial policy, he felt it his duty, on the 10th of September last, to tender his resignation of the office of Lieutenant-Governor.' On his return home his services were rewarded with a baronetcy. He was succeeded by Colonel Sir George Arthur, whose harsh behaviour, both to the troops under his command and to the convicts during the twelve years he held the office of Governor of Van Diemen's Land, proved him to be utterly unfit to rule a province in the critical circumstances in which Upper Canada was placed. His nomination to this responsible and difficult post was vehemently denounced by Sir William Molesworth and other members of the Radical party, and the severity with which he treated such of the insurgents as fell into his hands, showed that their condemnation of Colonel Arthur's appointment was not made without good reason.

Lord Glenelg seems to have had some misgivings that the new Governor-General would carry out in Upper Canada the same Draconian policy which he had employed in Van Diemen's Land, for he immediately sent after him despatches warning him, that 'unless under circumstances of peculiar and pressing urgency,' it would be advisable not to have recourse to the extreme penalty of the law against political offenders. Sir George Arthur, however, was not the man to be so easily turned aside from his favourite policy, and he lost no time in bringing to trial the leaders in the recent insurrection. Two of the most prominent among the prisoners were Samuel Lount and Peter Matthews. The former was a native of the United States, but had for many years been settled in the district of Toronto, where he had acquired a considerable estate and had represented his county in the provincial Parliament. Matthews was a native of Upper Canada and a yeoman, but in affluent circumstances. They had both taken an active part in Mackenzie's outbreak, and at their trial pleaded guilty to the charge. They were condemned to death, and though the utmost efforts were made to obtain a mitigation of their sentence, they were both executed.

Lord Glenelg expressed his extreme regret that it had been deemed requisite to carry these capital sentences into effect, and his earnest hope that no similar severities should take place. The cases of the other prisoners were disposed of by a board of Commissioners, presided over by the Vice-Chancellor of the province. A number were discharged on bail; others were bound over to keep the peace; some were unconditionally set at liberty; part were banished from the province; while the remainder, consisting of men of property and influence, were sentenced to transportation to the penal colonies.

While the Government of Upper Canada was engaged in disposing of the persons implicated in the recent outbreak, the marauders on the American side of the frontier were making active preparations for a renewal of their inroad into the Upper Province. On the 30th of May a band of these filibusters, headed by a person named Johnson, boarded a British steamer, the *Sir Robert Peel*, lying alongside a wharf at Well's Island in the St. Lawrence, robbed the passengers of their money and more valuable effects, and then having driven them on shore, set the vessel on fire. A reward of £1000 was offered by Lord Durham for the discovery and conviction of the offenders. They found refuge, however, among the clusters of isles in the St. Lawrence known as 'the Thousand Islands,' whose narrow and intricate passages afforded them great facilities for concealment and for baffling pursuit. Issuing from their river fastnesses in their light and swift boats, Johnson and his band of outlaws carried out their schemes of plunder and violence with impunity and success, and returned to their lurking places before any adequate force could be assembled to resist them.

A daring assault on a little party of pro-

vincial cavalry, whom they surrounded and captured in their quarters at a solitary inn in the Niagara district, at length roused the country against them; and detachments of militia and volunteers, despatched in pursuit of the banditti, succeeded in capturing James Moreau, the leader of this enterprise, along with several of his followers. They were speedily brought to trial, and all found guilty and condemned to death. With two exceptions, their sentences were commuted for transportation. Moreau, who was a native of Pennsylvania, was executed, and it was intended to inflict capital punishment on another of the band; but his life was ultimately spared on the interposition of Lord Durham, greatly to the dissatisfaction of Sir George Arthur. He warmly resisted the proposal to grant the reprieve as an unwarrantable encroachment on his authority, and submitted to it only under protest and with great reluctance 'as unconstitutional, and likely to lead to very painful results.'

The remarks which Lord Durham felt constrained to make on the conduct of the Governor and his Council, aided and abetted by the 'Family Compact,' were not more severe than just. 'The exasperation caused by the conflict itself,' he said, 'the suspicions and terrors of that trying period, and the use made by the triumphant party of the power thrown into their hands, have heightened the passions which existed before. It certainly appeared too much as if the rebellion had been purposely invited by the Government, and the unfortunate men who took part in it deliberately drawn into a trap by those who subsequently inflicted so severe a punishment on them for their error. It seemed, too, as if the dominant party made use of the occasion afforded by the real guilt of a few desperate and imprudent men, in order to persecute or disable the whole body of their political opponents. A great number of perfectly innocent individuals were thrown into prison, and suffered in person, property, and character. The whole body of reformers were subjected to suspicious and harassing proceedings, instituted by magistrates whose political leanings were notoriously adverse to them. Severe laws were passed, under colour of which individuals very generally esteemed were punished without any form of trial.

'The two persons who suffered the extreme penalty of the law, Lount and Matthews,' his lordship continued, 'unfortunately engaged a great share of the public sympathy; their pardon had been solicited in petitions—it is generally asserted, by no less than 30,000 of their countrymen. The rest of the prisoners were detained in confinement for a considerable time. A large number of the subordinate actors in the insurrection were severely punished, and public anxiety was raised to the highest pitch by the uncertainty respecting the fate of the others, who were from time to time released. It was not until the month of October last that the whole of the prisoners were disposed of, and a partial amnesty proclaimed, which enabled the large numbers who had fled the country, and so long and at such imminent hazards hung on its frontier, to return in security to their homes.'

When the British Parliament reassembled on the 16th of January, 1838, Lord John Russell brought the state of affairs in Canada before the House of Commons, and stated that he had resolved to bring in a Bill to suspend for three years the constitution of Lower Canada; to send out a Governor-General and High Commissioner, with full powers, in concert with any five members of his Council, to pass laws, and to convene three members of the Legislative Council and two members of the House of Assembly of each of the Canadian provinces to deliberate on their affairs. The scheme was vehemently opposed by Hume, Leader, and Molesworth in Parliament, and by Roebuck, who, as agent for the Canadians, was heard at the bar of both Houses, and pleaded that the insurrection had been caused by the arbitrary and oppressive policy of the

Government; but it was supported by the Conservatives as well as by the Ministerialists, and the House of Commons adopted the resolutions proposed by the Ministry, and went into Committee on the Bill by a majority of 262 to 16 votes. Various important modifications were, however, made on the measure in Committee, restricting the powers to be granted to the High Commissioner. But these amendments did not conciliate Lords Brougham and Ellenborough, who attacked the Bill when it reached the Upper House with unsparing severity and great power of argument and eloquence. They stood almost alone, however, in their opposition. The Bill was read a third time on the 8th of February, and became law.

The Earl of Durham was the person selected for the important office of High Commissioner, and in various respects the selection commended itself to the approbation of the public. In describing the person whom the Government had resolved to send out in the double capacity of Governor-General of the five British Colonies in North America and of Lord High Commissioner to inquire into and settle the controverted questions pending in the two Canadian provinces, Lord John Russell, on the 16th of January, said—'I think it most important that the person to be sent from this country should be one whose conduct and character should be beyond exception; a person conversant not solely with matters of administration, but with the most important affairs which are from time to time brought before the Parliament of this country. I think he should be conversant also with the affairs of the various States of Europe; and, moreover, that it should be implied by his nomination that he was not at all adverse to opinions the most liberal, and that he was favourable to popular feelings and popular rights.' Lord John Russell then announced that 'Her Majesty had been pleased to intrust the conduct of this affair, and these high powers, to one whom her advisers think in every respect fitted for the charge—namely, the Earl of Durham.'

Lord Durham certainly merited all the commendation Russell bestowed upon him. He was the head of one of the oldest families in England, which had long held an influential position in the north of England, and some members of which had represented the city of Durham in the House of Commons continuously for seventy years. He had married a daughter of Earl Grey, and had for some years represented his native county of Durham in Parliament, where he was noted for his zeal in the cause of Reform. He was raised to the peerage in 1828, and held the office of Lord Privy Seal in Earl Grey's Ministry. He was a member of the committee by whom the Reform Bill was prepared, and wished to introduce vote by ballot into that measure. During the time he held office he was considered one of the most liberal members of the Cabinet, and was regarded by the Radical party as the statesman in whom they placed the greatest confidence. Lord Durham was undoubtedly both an able and an honest man; but his deficiencies in tact, temper, and judgment unfitted him for the difficult and delicate mission intrusted to him. Lord Brougham, who did not like him, nevertheless says, 'Durham had many good and some great qualities, but all were much obscured and even perverted by his temper, which was greatly affected by the painful liver disease under which he laboured all his life. He was, in the best sense of the word, high-spirited. He was generous, open, and incapable of falsehood or meanness of any kind. His abilities were great, though not cultivated by instruction, for his education had been much neglected. He was very modest respecting his own merits, and favourable towards those of others, with even an enthusiasm that was exceedingly touching and amiable.' Having been always a keen party man, Durham had strong likings and dislikings; and as he did not hesitate to express freely the opinions which

he entertained both of men and affairs, he had made a good many personal enemies, who 'watched for his halting,' and were ready at once to take advantage of his mistakes.

He accepted the office intrusted to him, he said, 'with inexpressible reluctance,' being fully alive to its difficulties and dangers. 'I feel,' he said, on announcing to the Peers his acceptance of the mission, 'that I can accomplish it only by the cordial and energetic support—a support which I am sure I shall obtain—of my noble friends the members of Her Majesty's Cabinet, by the co-operation of the Imperial Parliament, and, permit me to say, by the generous forbearance of the noble lords opposite to whom I have always been politically opposed.'

The new Governor-General had certainly a right to expect that he would be treated with forbearance: for if ever there were an occasion on which it behoved statesmen to lay aside the tactics of political party warfare, it was in the appointment of a person sent out to mediate between the French and British Canadians at such a time, when the last possessions of Britain in the New World were torn by civil commotion, law suspended, trade paralysed, a rebellion just suppressed, the inhabitants divided into two bitterly hostile parties, who obstinately refused to unite for the attainment of any common object, and, as Lord Durham said, who never publicly met except in the jury-box, and then only for the obstruction of justice; while on the frontiers of the colony, a numerous body of desperate adventurers, feebly restrained by the weak Executive of a Republic, were eagerly watching for another opportunity to take part in the civil contest. But Lord Durham's mission was treated throughout as a purely party question. Even before he sailed, the factious opponents of the Ministry strove to annoy him by petty insults; and though he declined to accept any salary, the Marquis of Chandos had nearly succeeded in putting a stop to the mission by moving, in the most factious and paltry spirit, an objection to the expense, which after all amounted to only £3500. From the very commencement of his work the minutest details of his administration were exposed to incessant criticism, every step of his authority was watched by jealous and malignant eyes, and the most unfavourable construction put on every action.

Lord Durham reached Quebec on the 29th of May. The Act under which he was appointed prescribed that he should be advised by a Council, and that every ordinance issued by him should be countersigned by at least five of its members. There was already a Council of twenty in existence, nominated by his predecessor Sir John Colborne, who had succeeded Lord Gosford, composed of representatives of the various parties in the colony. This Council Lord Durham at once dismissed, and appointed a new Council composed of his four secretaries and the Commissary-General. His next step was to issue a liberal amnesty; but twenty-three persons were excepted from its benefits. Papineau and fourteen other leaders in the rebellion had made their escape from the colony, and it was proclaimed that if they returned they should be deemed guilty of high treason and suffer death. There were in custody eight other Canadians who had taken part in the rebellion. They were induced to plead guilty, and were sentenced to be transported to Bermuda, and their return prohibited under the penalty of death. The ordinance for their banishment was countersigned by the five members of the new Council.

These high-handed proceedings were undoubtedly illegal, though in themselves they appear to have been not injudicious or inexpedient. The Act gave Lord Durham and his Council power to legislate consistently with the law of Great Britain and Canada, but not to override or set aside any Act of the United Parliament or of the Colonial Legislature; and he must have been well aware it was quite beyond his powers to sentence untried and

unconvicted persons to transportation, or to condemn banished persons to death if they ventured to return without permission. He had no jurisdiction over Bermuda, and consequently no authority to send prisoners there. The Governor of that colony, indeed, wrote to Lord Durham requesting him to remove the rebels whom he had transported thither, as he had no power to detain them. Lord Durham admitted that when he drew up the ordinance in question he was aware of its illegality; but in the difficult and critical circumstances in which he was placed he considered it indispensably necessary for the safety of the colony, and he trusted to the Ministry and the Parliament to condone this stretch of power. It would have served no good purpose to have brought the rebels to trial before a Canadian jury, as it was quite certain that, no matter how flagrant or undeniable their guilt, they would have been acquitted. Shortly before this a French Canadian, named Chartrand, who had been decidedly opposed to the policy and proceedings of the insurgents, was murdered by them in cold blood under circumstances of great atrocity. The persons charged with this crime were arraigned before a jury composed exclusively of French Canadians, for all others had been set aside upon the challenge of the accused. The guilt of the prisoners was proved by the clearest and most indisputable testimony, and was hardly denied by themselves; but the jury, as everybody had predicted, brought in a verdict of not guilty. The French press, before the trial came on, had assiduously inculcated the duty of giving this dishonest and scandalous verdict; zealous partizans had striven to impress this on the minds of the jurors; an array of the leaders of the party had mustered at the trial for the same purpose; and the acquittal of the assassins was celebrated at public entertainments, to which the jury were invited that they might be applauded and thanked for their verdict. Lord Durham argued that, after this acquittal of men who were beyond all question the perpetrators of an unprovoked and premeditated murder, it would have been worse than useless to expect that convictions for treason or political offences of any kind could be obtained from a Lower Canadian jury. No alternative therefore remained but to keep the prisons overcrowded with those who were implicated in the rebellion, or to get rid of the offenders in some such way as he had felt constrained to adopt.

As might have been foreseen, the illegal procedure of the Governor-General was eagerly laid hold of by the Opposition, for the purpose of assailing the Government as well as annoying Lord Durham. Sir Edward Sugden, the ex-Lord-Chancellor of Ireland, complained in the House of Commons that Lord Durham had violated the spirit if not the letter of the Act by appointing a Council consisting of only five members, and these selected from his own staff and household. But the most formidable attack was made by Lord Brougham in the House of Lords. He had furiously opposed the Act under which the Governor-General was appointed; and now that he had Durham 'on the hip,' he poured out upon him the vials of his wrath, which he had accumulated against his former colleague and antagonist ever since the Grey festival in Edinburgh. He denounced the stretch of jurisdiction, on the part of the Governor-General, in the most unmeasured terms, and magnified his slip regarding banishment to Bermuda as if it had been a great crime. He even went so far as to declare that all Lord Durham's ordinances were unlawful, and laid down various propositions, both with respect to common law and the construction of Acts of Parliament, which the most eminent lawyers in the House declared to be wholly untenable. The Ministers pleaded that the Governor-General had been placed in a situation of extreme difficulty between two parties, the one clamouring for the severest punishment, the other demanding a complete amnesty.

He had adopted a middle course, which had given general satisfaction throughout the colony. Brougham's animosity, however, was not to be appeased. He brought the question twice before the House of Lords; and neither the Lord-Chancellor nor the Master of the Rolls, from whom so much was expected, ventured to oppose him. Lyndhurst, as Lord Campbell remarks, 'cunningly observed that, concurring in the illegality of the banishment to Bermuda, he thought it more prudent to abstain from giving any opinion upon the other legal points mooted by his noble and learned friend.' The Duke of Wellington, however, expressed his disapproval of the reiterated attacks upon Lord Durham, but thought that 'steps should be taken to set the Government of Canada right on proceedings which appeared to be totally illegal.'

The next step taken by the ex-Chancellor was to introduce a Bill for 'declaring the true intent and meaning' of the Canada Act, and 'for indemnifying those who have issued or acted under a certain ordinance made under colour of said Act.' The Bill was read a second time on the 9th of August, after a sharp debate, by a majority of fifty-four to thirty-six. On the following day Lord Melbourne announced to the Lords that the Ministry had resolved to disallow the whole ordinance; in all probability because they felt it difficult, if not impossible, to annul a part of it without repealing the whole. 'I cannot but say,' Melbourne added, 'that it is with the deepest regret and alarm that I have taken this course. I cannot but say that it is not without great apprehensions of the consequences that I have taken this course, and it is not without feeling the greatest pain and regret that I have come to the determination.'

Brougham's Indemnity Bill was severely handled during the debate, and his own inconsistencies and spiteful feeling towards Lord Durham and the Ministry did not escape animadversion. It was pointed out that his Bill declared that the ordinances in question 'are so much for the service of the public that they ought to be justified by Act of Parliament,' while at the same time he had denounced them as fraught with gross and intolerable injustice. It was also shown that Sir John Colborne had passed an ordinance of attainder more stringent and severe even than Lord Durham's, and quite as illegal; and yet it had lain uncondemned and even unnoticed on the table of the House for six weeks. Ministers only claimed for Lord Durham the power which had been conceded to his predecessor. Lord Brougham was compelled to admit that Lord Durham's powers were co-extensive with those exercised by Sir John Colborne, but he prudently declined to say whether or not that officer had exceeded the limits of his authority. In the end the Bill, so strangely and gratuitously forced upon the Ministry, was denuded of its declaratory and explanatory clause, and passed by the Lords as a mere measure of indemnity.

When the Bill was sent down to the Lower House it excited a keen, almost acrimonious discussion, during which the most conflicting opinions were expressed regarding the legality of the ordinance in general; and Sir George Grey even contended, with Lord Chief-Justice Denman in the Lords, that the provision for the transportation of a portion of the insurgents to Bermuda was perfectly legal. Dr. Lushington remarked with great force and propriety that Lord Durham would have gone still further astray had he had more legal advice, since the Lord-Chancellor, the Lord Chief-Justice, ex-Chancellor Sugden, Sir William Follett, and Sir George Grey all differed from one another as to the legality of his proceedings. Although not a few influential members on both sides of the House expressed their strong dislike to the Bill, it was ultimately read a third time, without a division, and passed.

Before Lord Durham received the despatch which the Colonial Secretary for-

warded to him, announcing the disannulling of his ordinance, his Lordship had made up his mind to resign, and had notified his resolution to Lord Glenelg. The incessant attacks made upon him in the House of Lords, the feeble defence put forth in his behalf by the Government, and the injurious effect which these circumstances were exercising on his authority and administration, had made him resolve 'on quitting a post which had been rendered untenable by those from whom he expected every possible assistance in maintaining it.' Not contented, however, with vindicating his policy in an elaborate and able despatch which he transmitted to Lord Glenelg, the Governor-General took the unjustifiable step of appealing to the Canadians against the treatment which he had received from the Government and the Legislature at home. In a proclamation which accompanied the promulgation of the Act of Indemnity, and Her Majesty's disallowance of the ordinance, he stated his case in a manner which was calculated to increase the disaffection already existing in Canada, and to place serious obstacles in the way of the restoration of peace and order, and obedience to law. Making every allowance for the provocation which Lord Durham had received, and the factious spirit with which every act of his administration had been criticised, to say nothing of his constitutional irritability of temperament, in issuing this proclamation he forgot alike what was due to his country and to himself; and it is impossible not to feel that however blameworthy the Colonial Secretary was in other respects, he was warranted to say that 'Her Majesty's confidential advisers regard this proclamation not merely as a deviation from the course which has hitherto been invariably pursued by the Governors of British possessions abroad, but as a dangerous departure from the practice and principles of the constitution, and that the terms in which the appeal has been made appear to Her Majesty's Ministers calculated to impair the reverence due to the Royal authority, to derogate from the character of the Imperial Legislature, to excite amongst the disaffected hopes of impunity, and to enhance the difficulties with which Lord Durham's successor will have to contend.'

'I trusted,' said the Governor-General, 'that I should enjoy throughout the course of my administration all the strength which the cordial and steadfast support of the authorities at home can alone give to their distant officers; and that even party feelings would refrain from molesting me whilst occupied in maintaining the integrity of the British empire. In these just expectations I have been painfully disappointed. From the very commencement of my task the minutest details of my administration have been exposed to incessant criticism in a spirit which has evinced an entire ignorance of the state of this country, and of the only mode in which the supremacy of the British crown can here be upheld and exercised. Those who have in the British Legislature systematically depreciated my powers, and the Ministers of the Crown by their tacit acquiescence therein, have produced the effect of making it too clear that my authority is inadequate for the emergency which called it into existence. At length an Act of my Government, the first and most important which was brought under the notice of the authorities at home, has been annulled, and the entire policy, of which that Act was a small though essential part, has thus been defeated.

'The disposal of the political prisoners was from the first a matter foreign to my mission. With a view to the most easy attainment of the great objects contemplated, that question ought to have been settled before my arrival. But as it was essential to my plans for the future tranquillity and improvement of the colony that I should commence by allaying actual irritation, I had, in the first place, to determine the fate of those who were under prosecution, and to provide for the present security of the province by removing the most dangerous disturbers of its

peace. For these ends the ordinary tribunals, as a recent trial has clearly shown, afforded me no means. Judicial proceedings would only have agitated the public mind afresh, would have put in evidence the sympathy of a large portion of the people with rebellion, and would have given to the disaffected generally a fresh assurance of impunity for political guilt. An acquittal in the face of the clearest evidence, which I am justified in having anticipated as inevitable, would have set the immediate leaders of the insurrection at liberty, absolved from crime and exalted in the eyes of their deluded countrymen as the innocent victims of an unjust imprisonment and vindictive charge. I looked on these as mischiefs which I was bound to avert by the utmost exercise of the powers intrusted to me. I could not, without trial and conviction, take any measures of a purely penal character; but I thought myself justified in availing myself of an acknowledgment of guilt, and adopting the measures of precaution against a small number of the most culpable or most dangerous of the accused. To all the rest I extended a complete amnesty. How am I to provide against the immediate effects of the disallowance of the ordinance? That ordinance was intimately connected with other measures which remain in unrestricted operation. It was coupled with Her Majesty's proclamation of amnesty; and as I judged it becoming that the extraordinary Legislature of Lower Canada should take upon itself all measures of rigorous precaution, and leave to Her Majesty the congenial office of using her royal prerogative for the sole purpose of pardon and mercy, the proclamation contained an entire amnesty, qualified only by the exceptions specified in the ordinance. The ordinance has been disallowed, and the proclamation is confirmed. Her Majesty having been advised to refuse her assent to the exceptions, the amnesty exists without qualification. No impediment therefore exists to the return of the persons who had made the most distinct admission of guilt, or who had been excluded by me from the province on account of the danger to which its tranquillity would be exposed by their presence; and none can now be enacted without the adoption of measures alike repugnant to my sense of justice and policy.'

Even after they had agreed to annul Lord Durham's ordinance, the Ministry seem to have imagined that he might be induced to retain his office; and when he announced his intention to resign his post, Lord Glenelg entreated him, on public grounds, to reconsider his decision. But after the proclamation of the 9th of October had been issued, the Colonial Secretary intimated that 'the Government were prepared to admit that his continuance in the Government of British North America could be attended with no beneficial results.' They, however, showed their resentment in a rather petty manner, when they issued orders that on Lord Durham's arrival in England the usual honours should not be paid to him.

Public opinion in Canada, however, was decidedly in his Lordship's favour. Meetings were held, and addresses poured in from every quarter, expressing in strong and indignant terms the general feeling of regret at his untimely resignation. The language employed at a farewell dinner given by the officers of the Guards at Quebec, was especially complimentary to his Lordship, and condemnatory of the course adopted by the House of Lords and the Home Government. 'As he went down to the harbour, crowds stretched as far as the eye could see; every head uncovered, and not a sound, but of the carriages.' He left Quebec on the 1st of November, and arrived at Plymouth on the 26th of that month. In reply to the complimentary addresses that were presented to him at Devonport and Plymouth, he showed that the long sea voyage had not abated his resentment; and he complained in strong terms that he had been suddenly arrested in his efforts to promote the security

and prosperity of our North American possessions. 'I had seen commerce and enterprise reviving,' he said, 'public confidence restored, and the field at length laid open for me where I could raise a constitutional edifice worthy of the British name, and resting on such broad and comprehensive foundations as would insure the good government of the colonies, and the perpetuation of their connection with the British Crown.'

Now that party and factious contests regarding the settlement of our North American colonies are happily at an end, no one will deny that Lord Durham was fully entitled to the credit which he claimed He induced the harsh and severe Governor of Upper Canada to desist from putting the rebels in his power to death, and to publish a general amnesty. He appointed a land commission, which dealt fairly with the allocation of the unoccupied lands. He instituted a Court of Appeal, composed of the judges, with two additional members; a registry of land titles; an arrangement for the commutation of the feudal tenures of Montreal; and an education commission, which laid the foundation of an excellent system of education for all classes and both races in the colony. Provision was also made for paving and lighting, and furnishing an efficient police to Quebec and Montreal. Above all, he devised a scheme for a federal union of the British North American provinces; so that while their local affairs were managed by the provincial legislature of each colony, they could unite in legislating for matters of common interest to them all in peace, and providing for their mutual defence in case of war. But the completion of this noble scheme had to be intrusted to other hands.

Lord Durham had scarcely reached England, when news arrived that the rebellion had again broken out. Two days after his departure from Canada, a body of 400 men appeared in arms at Beauharnois and carried off Mr. Edward Ellice, M.P. for St. Andrews, who had been private secretary to Lord Durham, and conveyed him along with three other gentlemen to Chateauguai. On the same day another body of insurgents appeared in the neighbourhood of the Indian village of Caughnawaga; but they were immediately attacked and defeated by the natives, who took seventy of them prisoners, and conveyed them in boats to Montreal. A day or two later, about 4000 insurgents were concentrated at Napierville under the command of Dr. Robert Nelson, and other two of the refugees who had been included in Lord Durham's ordinance; but on the approach of General Sir James Macdonnell at the head of a body of British troops, they hastily dispersed. The captors of Mr. Ellice and his three companions, who were conveying them to Napierville, on hearing of the evacuation of that place, abandoned their charge, and fled. A detachment which had been sent to open communication with the United States, fell in on the way with a party of loyal volunteers, and were entirely defeated, with the loss of eleven killed, and seven made prisoners. The victorious loyalists were attacked on their march by a superior force of the insurgents who had abandoned Napierville; but after a sharp contest, they drove them off with the loss of fifty men killed, and as many wounded.

Meanwhile an organized invasion of the province took place on the part of a body of 500 American 'Sympathizers,' who effected a landing at a place called Prescott, on the St. Lawrence, in Upper Canada. A combined attack was made upon them by Captain Sandom, who commanded a naval force on the St. Lawrence; and Colonel Young at the head of a small body of militia, supported by a party of regulars and marines. After a brief but sharp conflict, the filibusters gave way. A portion of them threw themselves into a large stone building, and some others took up a position in a circular windmill. The British force was at first unable to dislodge them; but on being joined by Colonel Dundas, with four companies of the 83rd Regiment and two 18-pounders and a howitzer, the

attack was renewed, and the invaders speedily surrendered. The British lost forty-five killed and wounded in this affair, but 159 of the enemy were taken and conveyed to Kingston. Another band of these lawless banditti, 400 strong, landed near Sandwich, at the western extremity of Upper Canada. They burned a steamboat which was lying there, set fire to the barracks, in which two of the militia perished, shot the sentry and a man who refused to join them, and murdered in a most barbarous manner Dr. Hume, a military surgeon who fell into their hands. As soon as the news of these shocking outrages reached Sandwich, the militia, under the command of Colonel Prince, marched at once to attack the 'Sympathizers.' On their approach the brigands took to flight without much resistance. Twenty-six of their number, however, were slain, and twenty-five taken prisoners. The loyalists had only two men killed, and the same number wounded.

Sir John Colborne, who was appointed to succeed Lord Durham, resolved to bring the prisoners to trial by a general court-martial. Of twelve who were arraigned before it, two were acquitted, and ten were found guilty and condemned to death. Six of these were recommended to mercy, and only two were executed—a notary, named Cardinal, who had been a member of the House of Assembly, and Duquette, a tavern keeper, who had held a command among the rebels in both insurrections. The jail at Montreal was at this time crowded with prisoners charged with political offences. Out of 753 Sir John Colborne caused 164 to be discharged at once, as having been unjustly arrested. He, indeed, admitted that, in the confusion and alarm on the first outbreak, almost every individual who had been concerned in the last revolt was suspected to have promoted the conspiracy which had been so secretly conducted.

As might have been expected, from the character of the Governor, now that Lord Durham was not at hand to restrain him, capital punishment was inflicted on a much more extensive scale in the Upper Provinces. The prisoners were tried in the end of November by a court-martial at Kingston. Von Schoultz, a Pole and a soldier of fortune, who commanded the filibusters in their attack on Prescott, and three of his associates who had taken a prominent part in the invasion, were hanged. Shortly after other five shared the same fate, three of whom had been engaged in the affair near Sandwich. Sir George Arthur justified these executions, by alleging that the feelings of the loyal portion of the inhabitants of the province were in the highest degree exasperated against the insurgents, and that they were of opinion that the second outbreak would have been prevented had more severe punishment been inflicted on the traitors at the first.

The celebrated Report which Lord Durham published shortly after his return to England, was highly and justly eulogized even by those who blamed his administration of Canadian affairs. It reflects, indeed, the highest credit on his Lordship's sagacity and foresight, and has ever since guided the policy of his successors. It points out, in clear and trenchant style, the impossibility of harmonizing the working of representative institutions with irresponsible government in the Canadian provinces, restricting the popular branch of the legislature, as had been done, in the enjoyment of the necessary privileges of a representative body, giving the provincial parliament power over the supplies, liberty of speech, and political influence, and then, under the plea of colonial dependence, nullifying the powers thus bestowed. A representative government of this kind was simply a mockery and a source of confusion. The jobbery that prevailed in the North American provinces was of the most flagrant kind. There was a constant scramble, among the members of the Assembly, to get as much as possible of the public money for their respective constituents. General politics were made

to bear on private business, and private business on general politics; and the payment of public services was cut down as low as possible in order that larger sums might be divided among the constituent bodies. The system of making large grants of land to individuals who had no intention to settle upon them, prevailed to a ruinous extent. Nearly the whole of Prince Edward's Island, amounting to about 1,400,000 acres, was alienated in one day by enormous grants, chiefly to absentees, upon conditions which were totally disregarded by them, and never enforced by the Government. The absent proprietors neither improved the land themselves nor allowed others to do so. Of this magnificent territory, enjoying a genial climate and great natural advantages, only 100,000 acres were under cultivation. The rest remained a wilderness, though most advantageously situated for the supply of the surrounding colonies and fisheries, and possessing a soil peculiarly adapted to the production of grain.

Lord Durham's opinion of the judicial system of the provinces was equally unfavourable, and with good reason. 'Beyond the walls of Quebec,' he said, 'all regular administration of the country appeared to cease; and there literally was hardly a single public officer of the civil government, except in Montreal and Three Rivers, to whom any order could be directed. The Solicitor-General commonly resides at Montreal, and in each of the districts there is a sheriff. In the rest of the provinces there is no sheriff, no mayor, no constable, no superior administrative officer of any kind. There are no county, no municipal, no parochial officers, either named by the Crown or elected by the people.' Even the cities of Quebec and Montreal were without any municipal government. The arrangements for the trial of civil suits in the districts were quite insufficient; and in the Court of Appeal, the highest tribunal in Lower Canada, the judges sat in turn on appeals from each other's district.

With regard to the form of government, while there were arrangements peculiar to each province, there were general characteristics and serious defects common to both. In both Lower and Upper Canada 'we find,' said Lord Durham, 'representative government coupled with an irresponsible executive; we find the same constant collision between the branches of the government; the same abuse of the powers of the representative bodies, owing to the anomaly of their position, aided by the want of good municipal institutions; and the same constant interference of the imperial administration in matters which should be left wholly to the provincial governments.'

The main source, however, of all the evils in Lower Canada, for which the British Government and Legislature were not responsible, was the mutual animosity between the French and the English inhabitants, who regarded each other with intense and long-breathed enmity. The difference of language, of laws, and of manners and customs, had arrayed against each other in violent hostility, not only the citizens of the same state, but even the inhabitants of the same village. The distinctions between the two races, in language, religion, and education, were not softened by any social intercourse. They never combined for any public or beneficial object, and they seldom or never met in society. They had their own distinct schools, newspapers, banks, steamboats, and hotels. The French farmers, Lord Durham says, would not compete, even on the neutral ground of the Agricultural Association, with the English. Distinct prizes were given to the two races; and the national ploughing matches were carried on in separate and even distant fields. This fundamental dissimilarity and dislike lay at the root of every dispute which divided the community; and dissensions that at first sight appeared to have had another origin, were but varied forms of this essential difference of race.

It was necessary, therefore, in order to promote the gradual union of the two races, that the Act of 1791, which granted separate constitutions to Upper and Lower Canada, should be repealed, and a form of government instituted which should bring the French and the English settlers to combine in managing their common affairs and promoting their common interests.

When Lord Durham went out to Canada he was in favour of a plan for uniting all the provinces of British North America into one Federal Union; and in order to secure the adoption and arrange the details of this plan, he requested that, first, the Governors of the Lower Province, and secondly, delegates from them, with various leading individuals and public bodies in both provinces, should assemble at Quebec to discuss the subject with his Council. He was of opinion that, while each colony should be left to manage its own local affairs, their representatives might meet in a common central parliament to legislate upon such subjects of common interest as their commercial duties, their railroads, canals, and internal communications, including the navigation of the St. Lawrence. In this way provision would be made for the protection of British interests in the meantime, and for the gradual amalgamation of the provinces in one united and homogeneous community. In a short time, however, he came to the conclusion that the existing state of the two provinces, and especially of Lower Canada, would admit of no delay; that tranquillity could only be restored by subjecting the province to the vigorous rule of a British majority; and that the only efficacious government would be that formed by a legislative union.

Lord Durham therefore recommended that a Bill should be brought in for the immediate repeal of the Act of 1791, which divided the Canadas into two provinces, and for the restoration of their union into one Legislature, and their reconstitution as one province. He suggested that the united Legislature should consist of two Houses—a House of Assembly, with members chosen by each province in proportions to be settled by an independent commission; and a Legislative Council. The Legislature thus constituted was to have complete control over the whole of the revenues of the Crown, excepting those derived from the sale of lands; and every official in the two provinces, except the Governor and his secretary, was to be responsible to it alone. He also recommended that the Bill should contain provisions 'by which any or all of the other North American colonies may, on the application of the Legislature, be, with the consent of the two Canadas or their united Legislature, admitted into the union on such terms as may be agreed on between them.' Lord Durham's prescient sagacity was shown by his recommending a union not only of the two Canadas, but of all the other North American colonies, which no other statesman of that day seems to have thought either practicable or desirable. 'But while I convince myself,' he said, 'that such desirable ends would be secured by the legislative union of the two provinces, I am inclined to go further, and inquire whether all these objects would not more surely be attained by extending this legislative union over all the British provinces in North America; and whether the advantages which I anticipate for two of them might not, and should not, in justice be extended over all. Such a union would at once decisively settle the question of races; it would enable all the provinces to co-operate for all common purposes; and, above all, it would form a great and powerful people, possessing the means of securing good and responsible government for itself, and which, under the protection of the British empire, might in some measure counterbalance the preponderant and increasing influence of the United States on the American continent.'

A quarter of a century had to elapse before the British Legislature and the people and provincial parliaments of the North American colonies could be induced to con-

cur in these sentiments, and to adopt this general legislative union. In the meantime, however, the Government resolved to make an effort to effect a legislative union between the two Canadas; but it speedily appeared that the provinces were not prepared to forget their petty differences, and to carry out this moderate and judicious policy. The House of Assembly in Upper Canada warmly protested against Lord Durham's report and recommendation, and the great majority of the Legislative Council were likewise as decidedly hostile to the project. The Lieutenant-Governor also earnestly recommended, that all Parliamentary discussions on the subject of the union should be postponed while the excitement produced by the rebellion was still fresh in Canada. The scheme for the settlement of the Canadian provinces was in consequence withdrawn, and a Bill for continuing the special powers conferred by the Canada Act on the Governor-General and his Council was passed. Sir John Colborne was rewarded with a peerage and a pension for his services in suppressing the rebellion, and the Government appointed to the important office which he had temporarily held Mr. Poulett Thomson (afterwards Lord Sydenham), who preferred it to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, which was at the same time offered him. He carefully studied and resolved to carry out the policy which Lord Durham had devised; and before entering upon the duties of his office he spent several hours every day in consultation with his mentor, and in preparation with him of the measures he was to adopt. On reaching Canada (19th October, 1839), the new Governor-General proceeded at once to carry out the policy recommended in the report of his predecessor, and he persisted in following his counsels in spite of the opposition of the extreme section of the Liberal party. He succeeded in inducing the Canadians to concur in the union of the provinces, and the British Government on their part agreed to hand over to the Provincial Assembly the complete control of the finances of the colony. The dissensions between the French and English colonists gradually diminished, and ultimately ceased. So did their common quarrels with the British Government, and their agitation for independence; and from that time onward the prosperity of the North American colonies has steadily and rapidly increased. It is matter of regret that Lord Durham did not live to witness the results of the sagacious policy which he had sketched in his invaluable Report. He passed away in the midst of his days, on the 28th of July, 1840, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

CHAPTER XV.

Coronation of the Queen—The Procession—The Spottiswoode Gang—Unsatisfactory conduct of Election Committees—O'Connell's attack upon them—He is reprimanded by the Speaker—Mr. Poulter's complaint against an Election Committee—Condition of the Poor in Ireland—An Irish Poor Law Bill passed—The Irish Tithe Bill—The Appropriation Clause abandoned—The Bill becomes law—Irish Corporation Bill again introduced—It is altered by the Lords, and in consequence abandoned by the Commons—The Riot caused by Thom, an insane brewer, at Canterbury, and its fatal results—Condition of Ireland—Murder of Lord Norbury—Attacks on Lord Normandy's Administration—Renewal of the Slave Trade by Spain and Portugal—Shocking treatment of the Slaves—Failure of the Apprenticeship System in the British Colonies—Infamous conduct of the Jamaica planters—Disgraceful state of the Prisons—The Apprenticeship System abandoned—Conduct of the Jamaica Assembly—They abdicate their functions—The Ministry propose to suspend the Jamaica Constitution—Their Bill opposed by a combination of Tories and Radicals—Their Resignation of Office—Sir Robert Peel sent for by the Queen—The Bedchamber Question—Peel abandons the attempt to form a Government—Recall of the Melbourne Ministry—Their new Jamaica Bill—Attacks on the Irish system of Education—Privy Council scheme of Education for England assailed by the Tories—Carried out by the Government—Unsatisfactory state of the Postal System—Rowland Hill's scheme of cheap Postage adopted by the Ministers—Its beneficial results—Its adoption by the Continental and American Governments—Changes in Lord Melbourne's Administration.

THE Government had gained nothing by the dissolution of Parliament and the new election. The number of their supporters in the House of Commons was not increased, and their influence was lessened by the substitution of O'Connell's nominees for the representatives of great English counties. But the enthusiasm of the people for their youthful sovereign for a season considerably strengthened the hands of her Ministers. The coronation of the Queen took place on the 28th of June, 1838. The ceremony excited very different feelings from those with which the coronation of her uncles, or indeed of any of her predecessors on the throne, had been regarded. As it cost £173,000 less than that of George IV., though £20,000 more than the coronation of William IV., and the banquet in Westminster Hall was omitted, loud complaints were made by some of the Tory peers that the ceremony had been shorn of its splendour and proportions. But the Ministry wisely resolved, instead of a costly banquet which would be enjoyed only by a small number of the upper classes, to increase the splendour of the ceremonial, which could be witnessed by the general public; and they arranged that for the first time there should be an outdoor procession from the palace to Westminster Abbey for the gratification of the vast multitudes who thronged the streets. The satisfaction which it afforded fully justified this deviation from ancient usage, It was calculated that at least 400,000 persons flocked to the metropolis from all parts of the United Kingdom, and even from foreign countries, to witness the procession; and that, including its own inhabitants, 2,000,000 of sightseers, composed of all ages, sexes, conditions, trades, and professions, were collected in the metropolis on this occasion. 'The earth,' said an onlooker, 'was alive with men, and the habitations in the line of march cast forth their occupants to the balconies and the house-tops; and at every convenient spot in the line of the procession galleries had been erected, which were thronged with spectators. The behaviour of the immense multitude that lined the streets, all eager to obtain a passing glance at their sovereign, was deserving of the highest commendation, and not a single accident occurred to mar the harmony and the enjoyment of the scene.'

The contention between the rival parties in Parliament, however, continued as sharp and persistent as ever. The ministerial gains at the recent election had been mainly in Ireland, and the Conservatives alleged that in not a few instances the return of O'Connell's supporters had been due to priestly or popular intimidation, or to the

improper and illegal manner in which votes were registered in Ireland. It was resolved, therefore, to present petitions against a large number of these returns, and to make a public subscription in order to raise the funds required for this purpose. The chairman of the committee formed in London to collect subscriptions, was Mr. Spottiswoode, one of the Queen's printers, and from him they obtained the designation of the 'Spottiswoode Gang.' This powerful combination placed the members whose seats were attacked at a great disadvantage, and was indignantly denounced by the Liberal party as an unconstitutional interference with the privileges of the House of Commons. The attack on the Irish returns was rendered the more formidable by the scandalous behaviour of the committees to whom election petitions were referred. It was quite notorious that the decisions on these petitions depended almost entirely upon the political opinions of the majority of the committee, and that the claims of party were systematically preferred to the claims of justice and honesty. As Charles Buller remarked, 'None of the parties who came before the election committee had confidence in their honour; quite the contrary; every body said that an election committee of the House of Commons was the last tribunal where a man could expect justice.' In the words of a legal writer on the subject, 'The decision of every man upon oath in a matter involving much subtle disquisition and diversity of opinion, is absolutely predetermined according to his political creed.'

The perversion of justice in connection with these election committees had become so flagrant and scandalous, that in 1837 a committee was appointed to inquire into the whole system; and Mr. Charles Buller, the chairman of the committee, brought in a bill for remedying the abuses of which both parties with equal justice complained. He proposed that the numbers of each committee should be reduced from eleven to five, and that three assessors, barristers of seven years' standing, should be appointed to act as chairmen of the election committees, and as a court of appeal from the decisions of the revising barristers on matters of law. Mr. O'Connell proposed a scheme of a different kind; he wished to transfer the trial of election petitions to a special jury, assisted by five members of Parliament, and presided over by the Chief-Justice of England; but he withdrew his plan in favour of Buller's scheme, and the second reading of his bill was carried by 214 votes to 160 against a motion by Lord Stanley for its postponement.

An attack was next made on the 'Spottiswoode Gang' by Mr. Blewett, member for the Monmouth boroughs, who denounced it as 'a most foul and atrocious aggression upon the freedom of election;' and Mr. Smith O'Brien, the member for Limerick, called the attention of the House to his own grievances as one of the members whose seat was threatened by the Association, and assailed Burdett, who with the zeal of a new convert, had been very active in procuring subscriptions. But after a tumultuous and discreditable squabble in the House, which drew down a severe rebuke from the Speaker, these movements came to nothing. The feeling which these proceedings excited, however, was not allayed; and at a public dinner given to O'Connell on the 21st of February at the Crown and Anchor, the 'Liberator' in his characteristic style spoke of the 'machinations of the Spottiswoode Gang,' and the 'perjury of the Tory politicians.' 'It was horrible to think,' he said, 'that a body of gentlemen—men who ranked high in society, who were themselves the administrators of the law, and who ought therefore to be above all suspicion—should be perjuring themselves in the committees of the House of Commons.'

No one could deny that O'Connell's statements, though strongly expressed, were substantially true. It was notorious that, when an election committee was to be balloted for, there was a canvas on each

side for a large attendance, and that the decision of the committee could be predicted with almost perfect certainty as soon as the result of the ballot was known. Statements identical with that of O'Connell had often been made, though no doubt expressed in milder language. If passion and enmity to the great Agitator had not blinded the Conservative members, they would have seen that any action taken against O'Connell for stating what every one knew to be true, would only serve to give greater publicity and a wider circulation to the charge. But Lord Maidstone, the eldest son of the Earl of Winchelsea—the foolish son of a foolish sire—thought fit to bring O'Connell's accusation before the House of Commons (February 23rd). O'Connell at once admitted the accuracy of the report, and declared that he had only repeated what every one knew to be true. 'Is there a man,' he said, 'who will put his hand upon his heart and say, upon his honour as a gentleman, that he does not believe it to be substantially true? Heaven help the man who out of that House, even in the presence of members of the House, would venture to assert that these election committees were impartial tribunals assembled solely to do justice between the parties. Why, such an assertion would be turned into ridicule; the man would be laughed to scorn.' Lord Maidstone, three days later, moved a vote of censure against O'Connell; and though the Ministers interposed for his protection, the House, by majorities which varied considerably in numbers, decided that the charge complained of was a false and scandalous imputation upon the honour of the House, that O'Connell had been guilty of a breach of privilege, and finally, that he be reprimanded by the Speaker, which was duly carried into effect. O'Connell, after the scene was over, informed the House that he was bound to re-assert what he had before said.

These proceedings were as unwise as they were undignified. Everybody knew that the Tories had attacked O'Connell, while they passed over a similar assertion made by other members, merely out of their vindictive hatred to the Irish Agitator; but having entered upon this path, they were obliged to go on. Six weeks afterwards, Mr. Poulter, the Liberal member for Shaftesbury, having been unseated by a committee, addressed a letter to his constituents, in which he declared that the majority of the members of the committee were 'the most corrupt that ever degraded the administration of justice and the name of the Commons of England.' Their 'ignorance was second only to their corruption;' and he added, 'that his seat was as completely filched from him as ever purse was stolen from a person on the common highway.' The letter was brought before the House on the 6th of May by Blackstone, chairman of the committee thus mercilessly assailed, and Poulter was ordered to attend on the following Monday. He at once avowed that he had written the letter, and justified it by the manner in which he had been treated. He was quite willing, he said, to admit that the members of the committee had not been guilty of pecuniary or base corruption; but he was bound to say, that he should ever regard his seat as having been taken from him on political grounds alone. Blackstone, who evidently winced under this temperate statement, which he must have known to be true, insisted that Poulter should be censured. But the feeling was so strong, that it was invidious to censure one man for saying what many others had said, and the truth of which no one could deny, that the motion was carried by only 122 votes to 120. A second proposal, however, that the question should be adjourned for a week was carried by 122 votes to 116, and no more was heard of the matter.

Such proceedings as these are fitted to convey by no means a high idea of the moral principles of the members of the House at this time, and show that a factious spirit was manifested in all their proceedings. Various schemes were proposed for the removal of the scandal connected with

election petitions, and Sir Robert Peel obtained leave to bring in a bill authorizing the Speaker to nominate 'a general committee of elections,' who should be empowered to appoint select committees to adjudicate on election petitions; but nothing came of it at that time.

Ireland still continued to be the main difficulty of the Government, and Irish questions occupied, as they had hitherto done, the chief attention of Parliament. Three important measures relating to that unhappy country—Tithes, Poor Laws, and Corporations—remained still unsettled; and the Ministry resolved to deal first with the legal provision for the poor, as being both the most urgent and the measure most likely to obtain general support. This subject had for several years engaged the attention of the Government and the Legislature. A commission was appointed in 1833 to inquire into the condition of the poorer classes, and their investigations had been continued during three years. Their report, which was presented in 1836, presented an appalling picture of misery; but the remedies which they recommended were regarded by the Ministry as inadequate in some respects, and injurious in others. They therefore resolved, before legislating on the subject, to send Mr. Nicholls, one of the three English Commissioners, to Ireland to make a personal investigation of the state of the poorer classes. His report furnished the basis of the measure which they resolved to introduce, for the purpose of relieving the country from the evils of the almost universal mendicancy that prevailed among the poor. Relief was to be granted to the destitute—the able-bodied as well as the aged and infirm; but it was to be obtained only in workhouses. No outdoor relief was to be given. In order to carry out the regulations prescribed in the measure, Ireland was to be divided into unions, and each union was to be placed under a board of guardians, who must be all laymen. The bill was opposed by O'Connell and several other Irish members, who argued that it would have the effect of drying up to a considerable extent the natural stream of charity, and of injuring the independence and industry of the labouring classes. But the second reading was carried by a majority of 252. Strange to say, the measure was opposed in Ireland itself by Romanists and Protestants, Tories and Liberals, alike; and Mr. O'Connell did not speak without warrant, when he complained that English gentlemen would force upon the country a measure which the people rejected. The House of Commons, however, persisted in carrying the bill through its various stages, and it passed by a majority of 234 votes against 59. In the House of Lords it was opposed by Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Brougham, and other peers, both Conservative and Liberal; but it was supported by the Duke of Wellington as well as by the members of the Cabinet, and passed the House on the 9th of July by a majority of 62. The operation of the new law was much more successful at the outset than was expected, and its effect was soon seen in the diminution of the crowds of beggars on the roads and in the villages.

The Irish Tithe Bill was a much more difficult and embarrassing measure. Session after session it had been brought into Parliament, encumbered with the clause which had been made an instrument for the ejection of the Conservatives from office; and as regularly as it was carried by the Commons it had been rejected by the Lords. It had now become evident to all impartial spectators that the Ministry were too weak to compel the peers to give way, and that a very large proportion of the electors in England and Scotland were not disposed to support the Appropriation clause, or to divert any part of the ecclesiastical funds of Ireland to secular purposes. In these circumstances the Government resolved to yield to the dictates of necessity, and to introduce a Tithe Bill divested of the oft-repeated Appropriation clause. Their scheme, in other respects, did not differ materially from the previous bills for the settlement

of this vexed question. They proposed that the existing tithe composition should be converted into a rent-charge at the rate of 70 per cent. of the nominal value of the tithe; that this income should be secured to the present incumbents by a legislative guarantee; that the State should be authorized, on the termination of existing interests, to redeem each rent-charge at the rate of sixteen years purchase on the full sum of £100; that the money paid for its purchase should be vested either in real property, or in any other security which the Ecclesiastical Commissioners should advise; and that the State should devote the rent-charge which it purchased to the support of the Irish constabulary force or the Dublin police, or the expense of criminal prosecutions; and that the sum of £100,000 should be given for the education of the Irish people. The Government had good reason to expect, from the statements made by Sir Robert Peel, that the olive branch which they held out would be welcomed by the Conservative party; but on the 10th of May Sir Thomas Acland, one of the members for Devonshire, and the successor of Wilberforce as the leader of the Evangelical party in the House of Commons, proposed that as a preliminary to any settlement of the tithe question, the appropriation clause should be repealed. Russell naturally complained that he had been deceived, and that an unfair advantage had been taken. 'The only advantage,' he said, 'is that which I shall derive for my future guidance from the past conduct of my opponents, which is that, whenever they make professions, I shall consider these professions as snares; that whenever they make declarations, I shall consider these declarations as stratagems, and intended to deceive.' After a keen debate, in which the leaders on both sides took part, the Conservatives were defeated by 317 votes to 298.

A few days later the Government, though so far victorious, finding that an opposition so powerful could prevent the passing of any measure of which they strongly disapproved, resolved to modify their scheme, and to limit the Bill simply to converting the tithe composition into a rent-charge. The Conservatives expressed their willingness to support the measure in this form, but Ward, the author of the appropriation clause, made an ineffectual attempt to reintroduce it into the Bill. The rent-charge was ultimately fixed at £75 per cent. instead of £70 per cent. of the composition. The claim of the nation to repayment of the large sum of £640,000 advanced to the tithe-owners was abandoned, and, in addition, £260,000 was to be devoted to the extinction of the remaining arrears. Lord John Russell was quite entitled to say, as he has done in his 'Recollections and Suggestions,' that 'any one who will read this part of the history of Ireland, will see that a measure which changed the collection of tithes from a question between tithe proctor and peasant into a question between landlord and tenant, with a percentage of twenty-five per cent. to the landlord for the cost and trouble of collection, and thereby put an end to all the oppression, all the ill-will, and all the bloodshed of former contests, was one of immense value to the whole body of small occupiers in Ireland. No measure has tended more to the peaceful progress of Ireland than the Tithe Act of 1838.' Lord John, however, ought to have added that if this question of commutation of tithes in Ireland had not been made a battlefield, on which rival political parties contested their claims to office, this much-needed measure would have been passed three years before.

The Irish Corporations remained still in their original condition, with their gross and flagrant jobbery and corruption in full operation, and their sectarian restrictions unremoved. Peel had intimated, on learning the nature of the Tithe Bill which the Government intended to introduce, that he did not intend to renew his motion instructing the committee to provide for the total abolition of the Irish municipal corporations. It was, therefore, generally expected that this question would at last be settled,

and the people of Ireland allowed to enjoy the same local rights and privileges with their fellow-subjects in Scotland and England. The Bill, which was brought in for the reform of the Irish municipalities, was read a second time without opposition, and on the 29th of May Russell proposed that the House should resolve itself into a committee upon the measure. It divided the towns of Ireland into three classes, arranged in schedules attached to the Bill. The first two contained the larger towns, eleven in number, whose populations exceeded 15,000 each; and the third the smaller towns. Peel at once expressed his willingness to confer corporate rights on the whole of the eleven large towns, provided that the franchise of the new electors should be a *bona fide* one, and be fixed at £10 ratable value either for a house or a house and land. With respect to the smaller towns, he was prepared to leave it to the option of a majority of the £10 electors to apply to the Lord-Lieutenant for a charter of incorporation.

On the 1st of June Lord John Russell intimated that the Government, in order to obtain a settlement of this disputed matter, were willing to concur in the proposal that corporations should be conferred only on the eleven largest towns, allowing the electors of the smaller towns to apply for a charter if they should think proper; but they considered that a uniform £10 franchise would be too high a qualification. They were willing to make a compromise with the Opposition, and to make £10 the qualification for an elector in the larger towns, and £5 in the smaller towns; but beyond this they could not go. A meeting of the supporters of the Government had, in fact, been held a few days before, and they had expressed their annoyance at the concessions already made, and their determination to oppose any further concessions to the men who had refused to confer upon the Irish people equality of privileges with the burghal populations of England and Scotland. The Conservatives, however, persisted in pressing their scheme on the House, but their amendment was rejected by a majority of 286 votes to 266. Apparently irritated at this defeat, Lord Francis Egerton was put up to move, on the 25th of June, the rejection of the Bill; but the majority against this factious proposal was increased to thirty-five.

As usual, however, the Tory majority of the Upper House accomplished what their party in the Commons had been unable to effect. They not only, by a majority of sixty, on the motion of Lyndhurst, substituted a qualification of £10 for the £5 in the Bill, but they introduced various other alterations, all calculated to perpetuate existing abuses, and to restrict the rights and powers of the electors. Melbourne in vain warned them that, having abandoned their former principles, nothing was so imprudent as when they were prepared to make a concession, not to make it sufficiently extensive, and that there was nothing so unwise as not to take care that they obtained the object for which they gave way.

When the Bill was returned to the Commons, Russell commented, in language of well-merited severity, on the nature and object of the amendments which the Lords had introduced into the measure. The present corporation trustees of charities, and for lighting, paving, and cleansing the towns, were to continue in office. So were the entire body of the present local officers of every grade, from the town clerks down to the scavengers. The existing corporations were empowered to mortgage their property for debts due before the passing of the Act, and it was not improbable, he said, that the whole of the property would be mortgaged for debts which nobody had ever heard of. These and other amendments he insisted were passed with the interested, narrow-minded, perhaps factious view of preserving as much power as possible to the old and giving as little as possible to the new corporations in Ireland, placing the latter in a totally different position from that occupied by the municipalities of Scot-

land and England, depriving them of functions essential to the proper management and control of municipal affairs—leaving them, in fact, little to do but debate. Such amendments as these the Government could not accept, but they were willing, in order to bring the contention between the two parties and the two Houses to an amicable conclusion, to substitute an £8 ratable franchise for the £10 qualification, which the Upper House had introduced into the measure. The Lords, however, doggedly refused to make any concession. A conference took place between the Houses, but without effect, and the Municipal Bill was accordingly abandoned.

An incident occurred at this time which threw a lurid light on the state of education and intelligence among certain classes of the English people, even in the vicinity of the Archiepiscopal Cathedral. Shortly before the general election of 1833 an individual appeared at Canterbury, who styled himself 'Sir William Courtenay of Powderham Castle, Knight of Malta, King of Jerusalem, and King of the Gipsies.' He was a remarkably handsome man, of lofty stature and imposing appearance, with a long flowing beard, at that time rarely seen in England, and clothed in a magnificent uniform of crimson velvet bordered with gold. He addressed the people in vehement, exciting, but somewhat incoherent strains, and gathered around him an enthusiastic crowd of admirers, who were by no means exclusively composed of the lower classes. The Conservative party in Canterbury, much to their discredit, started this unknown and eccentric stranger as a candidate for the representation of the city, mainly for the purpose of causing annoyance, trouble, and expense to the two Whig candidates, who expected to walk the course. The ultra-Radicals combined with the ultra-Tories in the support of the new candidate, and he actually polled 950 votes, though he failed to secure his election. The enthusiasm in his favour, however, was by no means diminished by his defeat. His portrait was seen in most of the shop windows, and was even stamped on pocket handkerchiefs, and painted on tea-trays. Accompanied by several persons belonging to the higher classes, he attended public meetings on all questions, social and political, harangued the populace on all occasions in a rambling incoherent style, and made extravagant protestations of zeal on behalf of the doctrines of the church. It was at length discovered that this extraordinary personage was an insolvent Cornish brewer of the name of Thom, who was found to be implicated in a smuggling transaction which resulted in his conviction for perjury, and he was sentenced to six years' transportation. Decided symptoms of insanity, however, exhibited themselves, and he was removed from Maidstone gaol to the county lunatic asylum, where he remained in confinement for four years.

At the expiry of that period, in October, 1837, he was delivered up to his friends on the assurance that he was harmless, and that they would take charge of him. But they most improperly allowed him to return to the scene of his former popularity in the spring of 1838. He claimed to be a great religious as well as political reformer, styled himself the Saviour, represented himself as invulnerable to steel or shot, and gathered around him a crowd composed of farmers and yeomanry, as well as of the peasantry, to whom he promised estates and a share of the plunder of Canterbury. A constable named Mears, who was sent to apprehend this crazy impostor, was shot dead by him. A similar fate befell Lieutenant Bennett, the commander of a detachment of the 45th Regiment who were despatched from Canterbury to suppress the insurrection. Thom's deluded followers then made a furious charge upon the soldiers, who were compelled to fire upon them in self-defence; and ten of the assailants, including their insane leader, were killed on the spot, and several others were severely wounded. So strong was the delusion of the fanatical followers of this madman, that they actually

expected him to rise again from the dead, as he had promised. It is a strange and discreditable fact, that the evidence which this lamentable incident afforded of the danger to the public safety arising from the ignorance of the people, does not appear to have stimulated the upper classes to any extent to take measures for the promotion of national education.

Such an interlude, as was furnished by this extraordinary and lamentable moral and intellectual phenomenon, served only for a brief space to divert the attention of the Legislature and the public from the condition of the Irish people. Unhappily it continued still to be a question of political strife, rather than of cautious and impartial statesmanship. A most deplorable incident which occurred at this time contributed not a little to stir up to a blaze the embers of party strife. On the first day of 1839 the Earl of Norbury, a quiet, inoffensive nobleman, who had never taken any part in political affairs, and had lived on the best terms with his Roman Catholic neighbours, was murdered in open day when walking on his own grounds. The assassin was never discovered, though he must have been seen by a concourse of thirty or forty people, who were in attendance upon a funeral in the immediate vicinity of the spot. A meeting of the magistrates of the county of Meath was immediately held, at which a series of violent resolutions were passed; and the memorable statement made by the Under-Secretary, Mr. Drummond, to the magistrates of Tipperary, that 'property has its duties as well as its rights,' was denounced as a deliberate and unfeeling insult, and affirmed to have had the effect of increasing the animosities entertained against the owners of the soil, and to have emboldened the disturbers of the public peace. On the other hand O'Connell, who had recently instituted what he called a Precursor Society for the purpose of obtaining justice to Ireland, commenced a fresh agitation, with his usual energy and violence, to rouse the millions of Irish Roman Catholics against the Conservative party and the House of Lords. As soon as Parliament met, the contest was transferred to the House of Commons; and the motion of Mr. Shaw, for returns of the number of offences committed in Ireland from 1835 to 1839, gave rise to a keen and protracted discussion, which, however, was intended merely to prepare the way for a violent attack in the House of Lords upon Earl Mulgrave's administration of affairs in Ireland. The Irish viceroy, who had recently been created Marquis of Normanby, had become anxious to be relieved from the duties of his laborious office. Shortly before this time, he had replaced Lord Glenelg at the head of the Colonial department, and was succeeded by Lord Fortescue in the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland. The Irish Conservatives were strongly dissatisfied with what they considered the culpable clemency which Normanby had displayed towards political offenders. On the 21st of March, Lord Roden moved for a select committee, to inquire into the state of Ireland as to the crime and outrage which had rendered life and property insecure since 1835. He asked for the committee, on the grounds that throughout the whole country life and property had never been so insecure; that there existed throughout Ireland a systematic, organized, and secret conspiracy, having for its objects entire separation from England, and the annihilation of the Protestant faith; that it was chiefly owing to the violence of the Roman Catholic priesthood that Ireland is a prey to all this misery and agitation; that Lord Normanby had suffered crime to go unpunished; that when he had met it he had neither grappled with it nor subdued it; and that upon him consequently rested the responsibility 'for all these tears of sorrow and streams of blood which had marked the career of his viceregal authority.'

Normanby, on the other hand, endeavoured to prove, by the evidence of the

Crown solicitors and stipendiary magistrates, that twenty-seven counties out of thirty-two were either perfectly tranquil or had considerably improved during the previous six or seven years; and that the remaining five, though not tranquil, were in no way worse than they had always been. The Conservative peers, however, were not convinced by his statements, and the proposed committee was granted by sixty-three votes to fifty-eight.

Lord Melbourne declared that he regarded the motion as a censure upon the Government, and nothing else; and next day Lord John Russell announced his intention to take the opinion of the House of Commons, immediately after the Easter recess, on the conduct of the Irish Government. Accordingly, on the 15th of April, he asked the Lower House to declare 'that it is expedient to persevere in those principles which have guided the Executive Government of Ireland of late years, and which have tended to the effectual administration of the laws and the general improvement of that part of the United Kingdom.' After a debate which was protracted over several nights, the motion was carried against an amendment of Sir Robert Peel by 318 votes to 296. The attack was certainly factious and unfair, for though Lord Normanby's Government had failed to redeem Ireland, it had yet in various ways been a boon to that unhappy country, and had made it evident that the misery of the people arose mainly out of social rather than political causes.

At this period the country was roused to deep indignation by the discovery that the slave trade, with all its atrocities, was still flourishing under the patronage of the Spanish and Portuguese authorities. Portugal was bound by a treaty with Great Britain, which declared the slave trade illegal, to bring about the entire abolition of that vile traffic. And in consideration of this agreement, the British Government promised to remit the balance of a debt amounting to £600,000, due by Portugal to this country. Notwithstanding this engagement, the traffic in slaves continued to be carried on under the flags of Portugal and Spain. The Spanish Government, however, ultimately consented to give Britain the power of seizing vessels equipped for the slave trade, without waiting till they had taken their cargo on board; but a British cruiser could not condemn a Portuguese vessel unless slaves were actually on board of it. In consequence, not only did ships belonging to Portugal prosecute to a large extent the slave carrying trade, but an American vessel, on the payment of 100 dollars, could assume the Portuguese flag at the Cape de Verd. The remonstrances of the British Government against this dishonest and dishonourable procedure were unheeded through the influence of persons interested in the maintenance of the contraband commerce, who gave large bribes to the Portuguese ministers; and even Lord Howard de Walden, the British minister at Lisbon, who was instructed to induce the Portuguese Government to declare the slave trade piracy, instead of obeying his orders (to his shame be it said) actually wrote to the Viscount de la Bandiera, the Portuguese Premier, telling him how he could best evade the demand. Such instruction was not needed. The Portuguese were adepts in the practice of pleading dishonest excuses for the evasion of their duty, and in making inadmissible demands in order to escape from their treaty obligations. The sufferings of the unfortunate negroes, who had been torn from their homes by the slave catchers, had been aggravated by the steps which our country had taken to suppress the trade. Before the traffic in slaves was declared piratical, the unhappy victims of the avarice and cruelty of their fellowmen had the benefit of what was termed the 'Slave Carrying Act,' and were allowed a certain space between decks, and a prescribed supply of provisions and of water. But now that speed had become an indispensable quality in a slave ship, the most limited portion of space, and the scantiest

supply of food that would support life, were provided. In one case, which there was no reason to believe was a solitary one, from 180 to 200 negroes were crowded into a space only two and a-half feet high. Ophthalmia broke out among them, and the captain of the vessel threw overboard the diseased portion of his living cargo, amounting to one half, in order to preserve the remainder. A similar shocking course was frequently adopted to lighten the vessel when chased and in danger of being overtaken by a British cruiser. Lord Brougham mentioned a case where 500 negroes, of both sexes, were thrown into the sea for the purpose of giving the slaver a better chance of making her escape. The miserable creatures thus closely packed together in the hold of the slave ship were not only chained, but soldered and rivetted together —'welded together by the blacksmith in his forge'—so that their irons could not be removed or loosened 'until,' said the ex-Chancellor, 'after enduring the terrors of the middle passage, the children of misery shall be landed to bondage in the civilized world.' These fetters served not only to secure the pirate crew against revolt, and the cargo against suicide, but they also 'served the purpose of weights; and, if time were allowed in the hurry of the flight, more weights were added, to the end that the wretches might be entangled, to prevent their swimming. Other precautions were sometimes used for the same shocking purpose. Water casks have been filled with human beings, and one vessel threw twelve overboard thus laden.' Even when the slave ship pursued its course without interruption, the sufferings endured by its living cargo were almost inconceivable, and the waste of human life was frightful. The slaves, packed together in the hold like herrings in a barrel, the living not unfrequently chained to the putrid dead, had to endure horrors that cannot be described —the filth and the stench, the sea-sickness, the suffocation, the terrible thirst, the fury of despair. As many as 980 slaves were carried off in one ship, and of this number 600 perished in the voyage, entirely through the sufferings and hardships to which they were subjected. Of 2300 slaves shipped on board four other vessels, no less than 1500 perished in like manner. Even after they had landed, multitudes more perished in what was called 'the seasoning on the coast,' and the remnant who had lived through all this misery were then sold to endure the abominable cruelties of Spanish and Portuguese masters. It was calculated that at least two negroes perished for every one that survived to be sold into slavery. Well might Buxton ask, 'In what other trade did two-thirds of the goods perish, in order that one-third may reach the market?'

This subject was brought before the Upper House by Lord Brougham in a speech of great power. As a proof of the extent to which this horrid traffic was carried, he stated that in 1835 eighty slave ships sailed from the Havannah alone, and six of them brought back an average of about 360 slaves, so that about 28,000 were brought to that port in the course of the year. In the month of December of the same year, between 4000 and 5000 were safely landed at Rio. One of these ships carried 570, another no less than 700 slaves. The British Government allowed the captors a bounty of £5 on every slave recovered and restored to freedom, and Brougham alleged that this head-money system, instead of suppressing the slave trade, encouraged the shipping of slaves. The slave ship was allowed to gain the African shore, and to remain unmolested while the human cargo was being prepared for her. Meanwhile the cruiser kept out of sight until the lading was completed, and the pirate had put to sea, and not till then did she give chase. The bounty, in short, acted as a powerful incitement to capture slaves rather than to stop the slave trade. The ex-Chancellor insisted that men should be rewarded for preventing the slavers' voyage, not for interrupting it; for

saving the Africans from the slave ship, not for seizing the ship after she has received them. Some weeks later he moved a series of resolutions condemning the payment of head-money; but the Peers refused to adopt them. The Ministry, however, agreed to an address on the subject, moved by Sir Robert Inglis in the House of Commons, and resolved that, instead of the existing system of head money, in future a tonnage bounty should be given on captured slave vessels. Measures were also taken to render more efficacious the means used for stopping the traffic in slaves carried on under the Portuguese and Brazilian flags.

The sum of twenty millions which the British Legislature had voted to the planters as compensation for the freedom of their slaves had by no means put an end to the system, or to the troubles to which it had given rise. In some of the colonies, as we have seen, the time appointed for complete emancipation had been anticipated with the best effects; but in others, and especially in Jamaica, the regulations which had been enacted for the protection of the slaves, and their gradual preparation for freedom, had been systematically violated. Not a single step had been taken to distinguish non-predial from predial apprentices, or to afford them adequate food, shelter, or clothing. The enforced labour demanded from the apprentices, as the negroes were now termed, was more severe than it had been in a state of slavery. The Emancipation Act had limited the labour of the apprentices to nine hours a day, but many of them had to walk eight or nine miles to their work, owing to the refusal of their masters to provide them with cottages near the place of their toil; and the working hours were invariably counted from the time they began their labour, which was thus prolonged to fourteen or fifteen hours daily. The slave allowance of food before 1834 was fourteen pints of Indian corn and twenty-one pints of flour a week; but the apprentice was allowed only ten pints of corn and eight pints of flour. Female slaves were constantly flogged in direct violation of the law. Pregnant women were compelled to labour in the fields. When, exhausted by their long journeys to the place of toil, their hard work, and scanty supply of food, they were unable to continue their labour, they were sent to the house of correction to be punished for their obstinacy by being placed on the treadmill. 'Let the treadmill stop,' said Brougham, 'from the weary limbs and exhausted frame of the sufferers no longer having the power to press it down the requisite number of turns in a minute—the lash instantly resounds through the mansion of woe! Let the stone spread out to be broken not crumble fast enough beneath the arms already scarred, flayed, and wealed by the whip—again the scourge tears afresh the half-healed flesh.' The sufferings thus inflicted were of the most frightful kind. The planters, in fact, seemed bent on working the negroes to death before the expiry of their apprenticeship. Numerous instances were narrated in the reports laid on the tables of the two Houses of Parliament in which the miserable wretches had expired under the combined effect of hard labour, want of food, and savage punishment. Mention was made of the case of eleven females, who were first severely flogged, and then put on the treadmill, where they were compelled to ply until exhausted nature could endure no more. When about to fall off through faintness, they were suspended by the arms in such a manner that the wheel of the treadmill, at each turn, bruised and galled their legs until they became one mass of ulcerated flesh. In the course of a few days the whole of these wretched beings died from the effect of the tortures inflicted on them. The law required that a coroner's inquest should be held. A jury was empanelled on each of these murdered women, and eleven distinct verdicts were returned of 'Died by the visitation of God.'

The statements which Brougham made respecting the sufferings of the apprentices

were fully borne out by the report of a commission appointed by the Colonial office to investigate the charges brought against the planters, and by an officer whom the Government sent out in 1837 to examine and report on the Jamaica prisons. The information thus furnished was circulated throughout the country by the members of the Anti-slavery societies, who had contributed so largely to wipe off that foul blot from our national character. The old agitation was at once renewed. Meetings were held in every part of the country, at which resolutions were passed demanding the abolition of the entire apprenticeship system on the 1st of August, 1838; and upwards of 3000 petitions, with more than 1,000,000 signatures, were presented to Parliament reiterating this demand. Brougham, who had been originally in favour of the apprentice system, was now foremost in demanding its abolition. Buxton had been rejected at the general election of 1837 by the corrupt borough of Weymouth; but in his place Sir George Strickland, one of the members for Yorkshire, acted as the representative of the Abolitionists, and moved on the 29th of March that negro apprenticeship which, as to predial slaves, was by the existing laws to continue till August, 1840, should terminate on the 1st of August, 1838. The Ministry, however, declined to support the motion, on the ground that the existing arrangement had been made the subject of an agreement between Parliament and the planters; but so strong was the feeling on the subject, that they found it necessary to bring in a bill to 'amend the Act for the abolition of slavery, and to provide for the protection and better treatment of the apprentices,' which was carried through both Houses, and became law. Another bill was also passed without opposition, empowering Her Majesty in Council to make rules for the government of the prisons in the West Indies, to appoint inspectors of prisons, to dismiss or suspend officers, and to determine the fitness or unfitness of any plan to be used for purposes of penal confinement. Neither party had any idea of the consequences that were to flow from this much-needed enactment.

The news of the discussions in the British Parliament, and of the state of feeling among the British people, seems to have produced a considerable effect on the colonists in the West Indies; and when followed up by despatches from the Colonial Office, earnestly recommending the planters to release their apprentices, Antigua, Monserrat, Nevis, and Barbadoes, followed this advice, and at once set at liberty more than 120,000 apprentices. But the planters of Jamaica, who had ever since the abolition of slavery been a thorn in the side of successive Colonial Secretaries and provincial Governors, exhibited their usual refractory disposition, and refused to listen either to the remonstrances of the Legislature, or to the advice of Lord Glenelg. Their conduct throughout showed, in the strongest light, the demoralizing influence which the system of slavery had exercised upon the masters as well as upon the slaves. But even the Jamaica planters now perceived that it was advisable for their own interests that they should yield. There were upwards of 43,000 non-predial negroes on the island who must be emancipated in the course of a few weeks; and the planters could not fail to see that it would then become very difficult, if not impossible, to exact enforced labour from the remainder. They were about to be deprived, by the recent Act, of their favourite instruments for compelling the apprentices to work beyond their strength. That Act regulated the hours of labour, and secured to the apprentices the same allowances to which they had been entitled during their previous state of slavery. It authorized the special magistrates at all hours to inspect prisons and hospitals, as well as plantations and mills. It declared in significant terms that it should no longer be lawful 'to place any female apprentice on a treadmill, or in the chain of any penal gang of any parish, or to punish any female apprentice by whipping or beating her

person, or by cutting off her hair for any offence by her committed.' And it extended similar protection from gross ill-treatment to the male apprentices, after August 15, 1838.

The apprenticeship system, thus restricted and deprived of the power to enforce its requirements by means of the scourge and the treadmill, and other cruel and barbarous instruments, seemed to the Jamaica planters not worth retaining. With the worst possible grace, therefore, the Provincial Legisture passed an Act for the total abolition of the predial apprenticeship on the ensuing 1st of August. But they accompanied the concession, thus wrung from them, with an angry protest against the proceedings of the British Legislature, in which they had the effrontery to boast that Jamaica was not disgraced by the outrages and murders which had taken place in Ireland, or by combinations to raise wages by maiming and murder, or by the horrible trade of Burke, which had given a new word to the English language; and to taunt the House of Commons with the charges of perjury and corruption which had been brought against it by O'Connell.

The Provincial Legislature of Jamaica speedily showed their resentment at the proceedings of the British Parliament and Administration in a more tangible form. They were especially indignant at the measures recently passed for the regulation of prisons. During the period of slavery, when to imprison a slave was to lose his labour, the slave-owners were little disposed to resort to prison discipline. Prisons were therefore of trifling importance as instruments of penal inflictions; and their condition was very little heeded. But after the Act of Emancipation, when the slaves could no longer be punished by the domestic authority of their masters, and the lash of the overseer was transferred to the jailor, it became a matter of vital importance to take proper measures for the regulation of prison discipline. During the period of apprenticeship not a single step was taken by the Jamaica Legislature to provide for the proper management of their prisons, and in consequence the most frightful abuses prevailed in them. These places of confinement became the scenes of the most revolting cruelties perpetrated upon the negroes who were committed to gaol by the special magistrates, tools of the planters; women were flogged, their hair cut off, and they died there under the severities of the treadmill and the *cat*. 'The punishment,' said the Governor, 'of the *cat* upon women who will not work on the treadmill has become so general, that some example should be made.' Complaints made to the Jamaica Legislature were left unheeded. 'The existing laws,' it was said, 'are sufficient to prevent abuses,' but nothing was done.

The repeated solicitations of successive Governors at length induced the British Government to bring forward the measure for the regulation of prisons, which was unanimously passed by the Parliament. This brought matters to a crisis. The Jamaica Assembly, at their first meeting thereafter, declared that the Prison Act was illegal, and ought not to be obeyed. They denounced the 'continued aggressions of the British Parliament,' and resolved that they would abstain from the exercise of their legislative functions 'until they should be left to the free exercise of their inherent rights as British subjects.' The Governor, Sir Lionel Smith, prorogued the House of Assembly for a few days, to give the members time for reconsideration. But when called together again they doggedly adhered to their resolution, and were in consequence dissolved by the Governor. A new Assembly met on the 18th of December, 1838, but their spirit was not changed. 'Their legislative rights,' they said, 'had been invaded by Parliament,' and 'even in their ordinary legislative proceedings they were fettered by an overruling authority,' meaning the veto of the Crown; 'they must therefore adhere to the determination which was come to by the late

House of Assembly.' In a word, they abdicated their authority, and as far as it lay in their power deprived the people of Jamaica of the exercise of their own Constitution. Sir Lionel Smith was quite justified in saying, in his despatch to the Colonial Secretary, that 'no House of Assembly can now be found that will acknowledge the authority of the Queen, Lords, and Commons to enact laws for Jamaica, or will be likely to pass just and prudent laws for that large portion of the negro population lately brought into freedom. Thus a constituency, which may be computed at about 1500 or 1600 voters for the whole island, have returned, and will continue to return, the same members who deny the authority of the mother country; while upwards of 300,000 of Her Majesty's firm and loyal subjects are totally unrepresented, and my appeal to obtain for them common laws of protection as labourers has been totally disregarded.'

It was impossible that matters could be allowed to remain in this disordered and alarming condition. The interests of all classes in Jamaica urgently called for the enactment of new laws adapted to their new relations. The means which had hitherto been available for protecting the mutual interests, and regulating the different classes in the island, had suddenly ceased to exist. Provision had to be made to secure to the labourer the profits of his labour, and to the capitalist the produce of his capital. Sufficient securities had to be taken against crime, riot, vagrancy, and squatting. The prisons were at once badly regulated and insecure; the judges were incompetent, and juries notoriously corrupt; while the laws respecting ejectment, breach of contract, and vagrancy, were capable of being used in a manner at once oppressive and unjust. But the House of Assembly, by their dogged refusal to execute their legislative functions, made it impossible to provide sufficient securities for the peace of society, the protection of the newly emancipated classes, the relief of the poor and infirm, and the prevention and punishment of crime.

At this crisis the Ministry resolved to follow the precedent which had been set in dealing with the refractory French Canadians—to suspend for five years the Constitution which the Assembly had already put in abeyance, and to transfer during that time to the Governor and Council, assisted by three paid Commissioners, the power of making laws for Jamaica; but all these legislative proceedings were to be submitted to the supervision of the British Parliament. The Government had good reason to expect that this scheme would meet with the approval of the Conservative party, who had given their cordial support to the suspension of the Canadian Constitution, all the more that the Prisons Act, of which the planters complained so bitterly, had passed both Houses of Parliament without the slightest opposition. But it was discovered that nine or ten members of the Radical party disapproved of the Bill, and were prepared to vote against it. Their secession from the Liberal party afforded the Conservatives an opportunity of defeating the Government, which was not to be lost. The 'ancient representative Assembly,' as Lyndhurst termed it, consisting of an oligarchy of forty-five planters, attorneys, and overseers, chosen out of a population of about 3600 by 1600 electors, became all at once far more precious in their eyes than the popularly elected Canadian Assembly. The passage of the Bill was made so strictly a party question that Tory members connected with the West Indies, who had expressed to various members of the Administration their favourable opinion of the measure, were constrained by severe pressure to sacrifice their own sentiments and interests, and to revoke the support promised or implied, for the purpose of gratifying their party. The Conservatives, aided by Mr. Hume and other Radicals, strained every nerve to defeat the measure; and the consequence was that the second reading of

the Bill was carried in a full House by a majority of only five—294 votes to 289.

The Ministry saw clearly that, with the support of such a narrow majority, it would be impossible for them to carry the measure even through the House of Commons; and they therefore resolved to resign office. The Queen accepted their resignation, and by the advice of Lord Melbourne sent for the Duke of Wellington, who recommended her to intrust to Sir Robert Peel the task of forming a new Administration. Peel readily undertook the charge confided to him, and in a brief space made arrangements for filling up the principal offices in the new Cabinet. But on waiting on Her Majesty with the list, and mentioning the changes he proposed to make in the royal household, the Queen intimated that she was not willing to admit any change in the female appointments of her household. Sir Robert, however, persisted in his wish 'so to constitute Her Majesty's household, that Her Majesty's confidential servants might have the advantage of a public demonstration of Her Majesty's full support and confidence,' avowedly as a counterpoise to what he justly considered his greatest difficulty—a minority in the House of Commons. On the following day Peel was informed that the Queen, having considered the proposal to remove the ladies of her bedchamber, 'cannot consent to adopt a course which she conceives to be contrary to usage, and which is repugnant to her feelings.' Sir Robert in consequence abandoned the attempt to form a Ministry. Her Majesty in these circumstances appealed for support to her former advisers; and Lord Melbourne and his colleagues readily responded to her appeal. By consenting to retain office they, of course, made themselves responsible for the Queen's refusal to yield to Sir Robert Peel's demands. The point at issue was keenly discussed at the time, both in Parliament and throughout the country. Impartial and candid onlookers were of opinion that constitutionally Peel was right, but that politically he was wrong; and a strong feeling was excited among the great body of the people that it was both unnecessary and harsh to demand that, as a condition of his taking office, the youthful sovereign—a mere girl—should be separated from all the friends by whom she had been surrounded since her accession to the throne, that she should be 'debarred from the privileges enjoyed by her meanest subject, condemned to feel that every association, every intimacy, every friendship was held upon the tenure of Ministerial jealousy and fear.' There is reason to believe that Peel himself, though pressed on by the eager and impatient aspirants to office among his followers, was by no means anxious to assume the position which he had been invited to occupy. He was well aware of the enormous difficulties he would have to encounter in connection with the state of affairs in Canada and Jamaica, and above all in Ireland, supported only by a minority in the House of Commons; and he could not have really imagined that these difficulties would have been materially lessened by the exclusion of two middle-aged ladies from the royal household.

On the resumption of office by the Melbourne Ministry, it became necessary for them to prepare a new Bill for dealing with the affairs of Jamaica. The Tory party had not ventured to justify, or even to extenuate, the conduct of the House of Assembly. They merely pleaded for delay in order that the provincial legislature might be afforded another opportunity of retracing their steps, and resuming the performance of their duties. Peel himself had explicitly declared, that if the planters persisted another year in the course they had adopted, he would be prepared to concur in the suspension of the constitution. Acting on this expression of opinion, the Government inserted in their new Jamaica Bill, as the first clause, a proviso that if the Assembly should not, before the 1st of October, make ordinances on the subject of contract for labour, vagrancy, and the occupation of waste lands, the Governor in Council should

be empowered to suspend their sittings, and to legislate on these subjects without their concurrence. This proposal was vehemently opposed by the Tory party, and was carried at last only by a majority of ten. The clause was rejected, however, by the Peers, and when the Bill was returned to the House of Commons the Ministry, in their enfeebled condition, thought it better that it should pass in its mutilated form, than that it should not pass at all.

Another attempt on the part of the Ministry to reform the Irish municipalities, which at the opening of the session they had declared to be 'essential to the interests of Ireland,' failed of success. The Bill was mangled and marred, as usual, by the Peers, and was in consequence abandoned by the Commons. The Government, however, were more successful in repelling the fierce and reiterated attacks which Dr. MacHale, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, and Dr. Phillpotts, the Bishop of Exeter, made upon the Irish Board of Education. Through the zealous and judicious exertions of Whately and Murray, the Protestant and Roman Catholic Archbishops of Dublin, both men of a liberal and tolerant spirit, the united system of education established by Earl Grey's Ministry continued steadily to extend itself over the country, and at this time about 170,000 children were receiving their education in the National Schools.

While Scotland, a small and poor country, had for centuries enjoyed the inestimable benefit of a system of education, which, as Lord Macaulay remarks, had made the common people of Scotland superior in intelligence to the common people of any other country in Europe, the wealthy and populous sister country had made no provision for the education of the working classes. A large portion, indeed, of the English Tory aristocracy had denounced every proposal to educate these classes as fraught with danger to the public welfare. Lord Brougham had repeatedly brought this question before the Legislature, and in speeches of extraordinary eloquence had moved for returns, and obtained the appointment of committees to inquire into it. In 1837 he brought in a Bill for the establishment of an Education Board to superintend the distribution of the funds set apart for instructing the people, which, however, was not carried beyond its initiatory stage. Mr. Wyse, the member for Waterford, and chairman of the Central Society of Education, an enlightened and zealous friend of education, in the following year moved and nearly carried an address to the Crown for the appointment of 'a Board of Commissioners,' with the same object. A pittance of £20,000 a year had, though not without opposition, been voted in 1833 and subsequent years, for educational purposes, and had been dispensed through the agency of the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society. The former, which absorbed by far the larger share of the grant, prescribed the use of the Church Catechism in all its schools, and required attendance at church on Sundays. The latter, though it made provision for religious instruction, admitted of no particular catechism, and recommended no exclusive form of worship.

Many of the Nonconformists, who had no other means of education within their reach, though they sent their children to the National Society's schools rather than allow them to grow up in ignorance, complained bitterly that schools aided out of national funds were made establishments for manufacturing members of the Church, rather than for training the young for the work of life. Affairs, however, took a new turn in 1839. Encouraged by the reception given to the motion of Mr. Wyse, the Government now resolved to increase the amount of the annual grant to £30,000, and to place the distribution of this sum under a Committee of the Privy Council, composed of the Lord President and five of its members. It was proposed that this Committee should establish a Normal School for the training of teachers, who

were to receive there a religious, general, moral, and industrial training, and that they should appoint inspectors to visit all the schools which obtained a share of the grant, and report on their condition. Religious instruction was to be given in the State-aided schools, but the rights of conscience were to be respected, and assistance was to be given to schools in which the Roman Catholic version of the Scriptures was read. Such were the first germs of that system which has now attained such gigantic proportions.

As soon as the Privy Council scheme was laid before Parliament, it met with the most violent opposition. It was denounced as unconstitutional, as a violation of the privileges of the House, as hostile to the Church, and even to revealed religion, and as a boon to Nonconformists, especially to Roman Catholics. Petitions, got up principally by the clergy, poured in from every quarter of the country against the general features of the plan, and especially against the inspection of the schools. Lord Stanley, unmindful of the fact that he was the author of the Irish system of education, which had been denounced with equal violence by his new coadjutors, led the attack against the Privy Council scheme, and on the 14th of June moved that an address be presented to Her Majesty to rescind the Order in Council for constituting the proposed Board of Privy Council. After a keen discussion, which lasted three nights, Stanley's motion was defeated only by 280 votes to 275. Ten days later (June 24), when the increased grant made on the conditions stated in the minute of the Council was proposed, the Conservatives renewed the contest, and the Ministerial majority was reduced to two; there being 275 in favour of and 273 against it. All the leading members on both sides of the House took part in these debates, but the most eloquent and memorable speech delivered on the occasion was that of Mr. Shiel, who exposed very happily the old cry of 'the Church in danger,' which was once more raised on this occasion. Addressing the Conservatives in the House, he said, 'What in the world makes you so much afraid? Your Church is incorporated with the State, supported by the interests of the higher orders, and by the faith of the humbler classes. It lifts its mitred head amidst courts and parliaments; it possesses vast revenues; it rules over the two most famous universities in the world; it presides over the two great patrician seminaries of the land; it has retained all the pomp, pride, and glorious circumstance of the establishment of which it is a perpetuation; and bishops, deans, cathedrals and golden stalls. It is distinguished by a prelacy eminent for learning, and a clergy distinguished for energy, activity, and an organized spirit of confederacy. Such is your establishment. And can you bring yourselves to believe that such a fabric, based on the national belief and towering amongst aristocratic sustainment, can be prostrated on the rock of truth on which you believe it to be raised—not by foreign invasion, not by intestine commotion, not by great moral concussion, but by a discharge of Douay Testaments and Popish Missals from the hands of a set of shoeless, shirtless, Popish paupers, gathered under the command of the Privy Council from the lanes of Liverpool, the alleys of Manchester and Salford, or the receptacles of St. Giles? This ague of apprehension for your Church is idle, and would be ridiculous but for the fatal results it produces, and the constant injustice it works.'

The eloquence of Shiel, however, and the arguments of Russell and Morpeth, failed to conciliate the Conservative and clerical opponents of the Ministerial scheme; and on the 5th of July the Archbishop of Canterbury moved a series of six resolutions condemnatory of the proposed arrangements, especially in regard to the institution of a normal school and the right of inspection; and expressing a strong opinion that the powers intrusted to the Committee of Council ought not to be committed to any public authority

without the consent of Parliament. The first of these resolutions was carried by 229 votes to 118, and the remainder were adopted without a division—the Bishop of Norwich being the only prelate who opposed them. They were then embodied in an address to the Crown, which was presented by the Lords in a body.

The Ministry, feeble as they were, had the firmness to adhere to their educational scheme, though supported only by a majority of two in the Commons, and condemned by the great body of the Peers; and they had even the courage to advise Her Majesty to express her regret that the Lords should have thought it necessary to present an address against the Privy Council plan.

Another important reform was effected at this time amid many misgivings and objections—the re-organization of the postal system—the momentous effects of which very few persons foresaw on its introduction. The arrangements of the Post Office had long been in a most unsatisfactory state. It is scarcely possible for those who have never known anything practically of the former state of matters, but have all their lifetime enjoyed the benefits of cheap and rapid postal communication, to form a conception of the manifold evils of the old Post Office arrangements, and of the extent to which they not only impeded the extension of commerce, but exercised an injurious influence on the moral and intellectual welfare of the people. The conveyance of letters and newspapers was a strict Government monopoly, which was valued entirely for the sake of the large revenue that it yielded; and every proposal for its improvement was resisted by the officials intrusted with its management, from an apprehension that the amount which it annually remitted to the Treasury might be diminished. The public convenience was the last thing thought of by these imperious and shortsighted obstructives. Forty-five years ago there were only about 4000 post or receiving offices in the whole United Kingdom, and the efforts made to increase their number were almost invariably unsuccessful. Hence, great numbers of populous villages and districts were left without any proper or direct postal accommodation, the nearest post office being not unfrequently ten miles distant; and the mode of conveyance was so slow, and the route often so circuitous, that it was no uncommon occurrence for a letter sent from one town to another only ten miles off, to be forty-eight hours on the way, costing at least 4½*d.* for postage. A letter from London to Edinburgh, or indeed from any town 200 miles distant, was charged with the exorbitant impost of 1*s.* 1½*d.* The average postage charged on general post letters was more than 1000 per cent. on the prime cost. The charge was regulated not by weight, but by the number of sheets; and two of these, no matter how thin and light, entailed double postage.

As a matter of course, exactions so burdensome and unjust were systematically evaded; the habitual violation of the law in this case being generally regarded as a very venial offence. An illegal traffic in the conveyance of letters was carried on to an almost incredible extent. The carriers plying between Birmingham and the neighbouring towns, for example, were in the constant habit of conveying letters, which they delivered at the charge of 1*d.* each; and there is reason to believe that the number of letters distributed in this way greatly exceeded the numbers distributed in the same district by the Post Office. It also transpired that vast numbers were every day forwarded by carriers and coach proprietors. A bag was discovered in the warehouse of a carrier containing no less than 1100 letters. An occasional seizure was made; but the traffic was so openly carried on, that the risk could not have been great. In 1833, though one of the fines incurred was so high as £1000, the highest amount paid was only £160. The privilege of franking letters, which was conferred on

members of both Houses of Parliament and on Government officials, was grossly abused in favour of relatives, friends, and supporters, and was employed to such an extent, that 10 per cent. of all the letters and parcels which were conveyed by the Post Office contributed nothing to the public revenue. The burden which the system entailed on the community at large was keenly felt by all classes, except the rich and the privileged section; but it pressed with peculiar and galling weight on the poor, among whom it rendered correspondence almost impossible. It was no uncommon occurrence in those days for a letter to remain for weeks stuck up in the Post Office, from the sheer inability of the person to whom it was addressed to pay the postage. Cases have been known in which poor people were for six or eight months left in ignorance of the death of a relative, in consequence of their inability to pay the required sum. Attempts were often made to convey a message, by hiding it in a corner of an old newspaper, which passed free, or by the use of invisible ink, or by marking certain letters at intervals in the journal. A poor widow, residing in a rural district of Scotland, contrived to obtain tidings of her equally poor son located in England, through the medium of a blank sheet of paper addressed to her through the post; the sight of which in the postman's hands every three months, though its delivery was declined, made her aware that her son was alive and well. It must have cost the Post Office officials no small amount of time and toil to watch against and detect these attempts to evade the law. Kindhearted Post Office keepers in country districts not unfrequently gave up letters to poor persons with whom they were acquainted, running the risk of nonpayment, but generally in the end being repaid by degrees. Mention was made by one of them of a woman, who had six children and was very badly off, making offer of a silver spoon to keep till she could raise the money for the postage of a letter from her husband, who was confined in a prison for debt. The letter was given up to her, but the spoon was not taken. It was painful to witness, as the postmasters did often, the struggle between poverty and natural affection which made a poor labouring man hesitate to take a letter from a son or daughter at a distance, because the postage would take a loaf of bread from his other children. 'Sixpence,' said Mr. Brown, a member of the Society of Friends, 'is a third of a poor man's daily income. If a gentleman, whose fortune is £1000 a year, or £3 a day, had to pay one-third of his daily income—that is, a sovereign—for a letter, how often would he write letters of friendship? The people do not think of using the Post Office. It is barred against them by the very high charge.'

The fact that while the population and wealth of the country had greatly increased, the Post-Office revenue was stationary, indeed to some small extent retrograde, was of itself sufficient to show that the system was radically unsound and defective; for every improvement in wealth, commercial activity, and education, ought in a proportionate degree to have extended its correspondence. But Mr. Hill proved that if the Post Office had increased since 1815 only at the rate of population, it would have exhibited in 1839 an increase of more than £500,000, and that if it had increased as rapidly as the stage coach duties it would have exhibited an increase of £2,000,000.

The excessive rate of postage, however, was not the only obstacle to the extension of the public correspondence. The whole postal arrangements at this time were calculated to cause both expense and delay. The letter boxes, even in London, were kept open only from eight in the morning until seven o'clock at night, and the suggestion that they should not be closed until midnight was resisted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the ground that such an arrangement would have seriously interfered with the comfort of the officials of the Post Office. Clerks in the London Post Office were unemployed from nine in the morning

until four o'clock in the afternoon, and were, therefore, their own masters during nearly the whole day. The despatch of a second mail from London would have materially interfered with their comfort in any other employment which they might have undertaken. This thoughtful care for the interests of the clerks, at the expense of the public, caused letters which passed through London to be delayed there for the best part of twenty-four hours, or, if a Sunday happened to intervene, for forty-eight hours. It was stated by Mr. Hill that 'a letter written at Uxbridge after the close of the Post Office on Friday night was not delivered at Gravesend, a distance of less than forty miles, earlier than Tuesday morning.' The money-order office was under private management; the public were charged eightpence in the pound for the transmission of money, and no accounts were ever rendered to the Postmaster-General. The postal officials were authorized to open any letters, to see if they had been posted at the place at which they were written; and it was notorious that in country places letters were not secure from the prying curiosity of the keepers of the Post Office. The whole arrangements of the department, in short, were devised, not for the public benefit and convenience, but for the purpose of raising the largest possible revenue with the least possible amount of trouble and expense.

Numerous complaints had from time to time been made, especially by the commercial classes, against the postal system of the country. Mr. Wallace, the energetic member for Greenock, and a zealous advocate of Post Office reform, proposed an inquiry into the working of the department in 1834, and again in 1835; and the Ministry, though Mr. Vernon Smith, one of the subordinate officials, replied to the arguments of Mr. Wallace in a manner as impertinent as it was futile, were constrained to appoint a commission to inquire into the subject. The commissioners recommended that the office of Postmaster-General should be abolished, and the postal department placed under three commissioners; and a Bill was introduced into Parliament in 1836, to carry out this proposed alteration in the management.

A reform of this kind, however, was not likely to satisfy the Post Office reformers or the House of Commons, especially now that a scheme of a very different kind had been brought before the public in a pamphlet, entitled, 'Post Office Reform: its Importance and Practicability,' by Rowland Hill, the son of a Birmingham schoolmaster, who had himself been the head of an educational establishment. At an early period Mr. Hill's attention had been directed towards postal reform; but it was not until 1835 that he had made it the subject of special investigation. He had observed that the reduction of the duties on soap, tea, coffee, cotton goods, and other articles of common use, had been followed by a large increase in consumption; and he came to the conclusion that the high rate of postage was the main reason why the revenue derived from the Post Office was stationary, while the country had largely increased in population and wealth. On a careful analysis of the accounts of the department, he found that a large portion of the heavy expenses which it incurred was not directly connected with the conveyance of letters. As the postage of letters was not prepaid at that time, one great source of expense was what was technically called the 'taxing of letters'—ascertaining and marking the postage to be charged on each, one by one. The complicated and yet very unsatisfactory system of accounts was another cause of heavy expense; and the third was the arrangement which saddled the letter carrier with the labour of collecting the postage on each letter. On a careful consideration of these various items of expenditure, Mr. Hill came to the conclusion that they could be saved by a low and uniform rate of postage, combined with a system of pre-

payment. The apparent cost of the receipt, conveyance, and distribution of letters and newspapers within the United Kingdom was on the average $\frac{2}{25}$ of a penny, and of this sum only one-third went to conveyance. As letters are much lighter than newspapers, the average expense of conveying a letter was probably only $\frac{2}{100}$ of a penny. The cost of conveying a letter from London to Edinburgh, a distance of 400 miles, was no more than $\frac{1}{36}$ part of a penny. 'Thus, then,' Mr. Hill says, 'I found first that the cost of conveying a letter between post town and post town was exceeding small; secondly, that it had but little relation to distance; and thirdly, that it depended much upon the number of letters conveyed by the particular mail; and as the cost per letter would diminish with every increase in such number, and as such increase would certainly follow reduction of postage, it followed that if a greater reduction could be effected, the cost of conveyance per letter, already so small, might be deemed absolutely insignificant.' Mr. Hill therefore recommended that a uniform postage of a penny the half-ounce should be adopted throughout the whole of the United Kingdom.

Mr. Hill's suggestions, supported as they were by a strong array of facts, made a powerful impression on the people. Mr. Wallace, to whose indefatigable labours Mr. Hill pays a high tribute, after some opposition from the Ministry, obtained, in November, 1837, the appointment of a committee 'to inquire into the present rates and modes of charging postage, with a view to such reduction thereof as may be made without injury to the revenue; and for this purpose to examine especially the mode recommended for charging and collecting postage in the pamphlet of Mr. Hill.' As a matter of course, the scheme was ridiculed, and denounced by the officials of the Post Office. Lord Lichfield, the Postmaster-General, declared that 'of all the wild and visionary schemes which he had ever heard or read of, it was the most extraordinary. If the postage charge,' he said, 'were generally reduced to a penny per letter, it would require twelve times the present circulation of letters to produce the revenue now derived from the Post-Office charges.' He added, 'The mails will have to carry twelve times as much in weight, and therefore the charge for transmission, instead of £100,000 as now, must be twelve times that amount.' His Lordship was ignorant of the fact that the existing mail coaches were by no means fully laden; many of them, indeed, having very little to carry; and that the chargeable letters formed but an inconsiderable part of the mail. The subordinate officials of the Post Office dutifully supported their official superior, and brought forward no end of objections to the proposed uniform penny postage, most of them founded either on prejudice or ignorance of the real state of matters. Before the committee, the Post Office and Mr. Hill were perpetually in conflict on matters of fact, and it invariably turned out that Mr. Hill was always right in his facts, and that the Post Office was always wrong, even on so plain a point as the average number of letters at that time passing through the Post Office.

The committee sat no less than sixty-three days; and besides the officials of the Post-Office department in the three kingdoms, and of the Board of Stamps and Taxes, they examined Mr. Hill and eighty-three other witnesses of various occupations, professions, and trades, from different parts of the country. They received a great deal of curious and interesting evidence, especially respecting the vast extent to which the illegal conveyance of letters was carried on. Mr. Cobden, who had been deputed by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce to state the result of its inquiries, reported that 'the extent to which evasion is there practised is incredible; five-sixths of the letters from Manchester to London do not pass through the Post Office.' Similar evidence was received from Glasgow. Not

one-fiftieth part of the letters sent from Walsall was sent by post. Two carriers of Cirencester carried four times as many letters as the mail did. Letters were carried wholesale in the parcels sent by London booksellers to the provinces, in warehousemen's bales, in 'weavers' bags,' in 'family boxes,' and by means of other similar devices. But the evasion of the postage on letters sent to the outports, for the purpose of being put on board of ships bound to foreign countries, far exceeded the evasion of the inland postage. The American packet, which at that time left London every ten days, carried 4000 letters each voyage, which did not pass through the Post Office. It appeared that there were large numbers of receiving offices in London for letters to be forwarded to foreign ports in other ways than by post; and almost every shipbroker in London had a bag hanging in his office for letters to be forwarded by the ship to which he acted as broker. Mr. Maury, president of the 'American Chamber of Commerce' in Liverpool, mentioned that when a regular steam communication was established between that town and New York, the postmaster, expecting to have a large despatch of letters to provide for, furnished himself with a bag of ample dimensions; but, to his astonishment, he received only five in all, though by the first steamer at least 10,000 letters were in fact sent all in one bag. Mr. Maury himself sent at least 200 by that ship, which went free. The committee, in short, were fully warranted to come to the conclusion 'that, with regard to large classes of the community, those principally to whom it is a matter of necessity to correspond on matters of business, and to whom, also, it is a matter of importance to save the expense of postage, the Post Office, instead of being viewed, as it ought to be and would be under a wise administration of it, as an institution of ready and universal access, distributing equally to all, and with an open hand, the blessing of commerce and civilization, is regarded by them as an establishment too expensive to be made use of, and as one with the employment of which they endeavour to dispense by every means in their power.'

It was quite evident that some steps required to be taken in order to place the system on a sound and proper footing; and at length, in spite of the dogged and angry opposition of the Post-Office authorities, especially of Colonel Maberley the secretary, who declared that 'the plan appeared to him a most preposterous one, utterly unsupported by facts and resting entirely on assumptions,' the committee resolved, by the casting vote of the chairman, Mr. Wallace, to recommend the establishment of a uniform rate of inland postage between one post town and another. The majority, however, timidly shrank from recommending the adoption of a uniform rate of one penny per half-ounce without regard to distance. But they agreed, again by the casting vote of the chairman, to report in favour of a uniform twopenny rate. Petitions poured in from all quarters, and especially from the most influential public bodies and commercial and trading communities, in favour of the penny rate; 215 were presented to the House of Commons in the course of six days, and during the session of 1839, the petitions were upwards of 10,000 in number, with upwards of 250,000 signatures. The *Times* and the public journals in general earnestly advocated the scheme, and a deputation of 150 members of Parliament waited on Lord Melbourne to press its adoption. The Cabinet in these circumstances judiciously preferred the measure as it was embodied in Hill's pamphlet, to the modified scheme recommended by the committee. 'They were unanimous,' Lord John Russell says, 'in favour of the ingenious and popular plan of a penny postage; but,' he justly adds, 'they ought to have enacted at the same time such a measure as would have secured a revenue sufficient to defray the national expenditure. Failing to do this, there was for three years together a deficit,

which exposed the Government to the powerful reproaches and unanswerable objections of Sir Robert Peel.' The Government admittedly adopted this resolution with reluctance, and not without misgivings as to the result. They ultimately agreed, however, to reduce the postage on the 5th of December, 1839, to a uniform rate of fourpence, in order to prevent the Post Office servants from being overwhelmed by a sudden and enormous increase in the number of letters, and on the 10th of January, 1840, to a uniform rate of a penny. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in moving a resolution to that effect, proposed that the privilege of receiving and sending letters post free, which had been conferred on members of Parliament and had been grossly abused, should be abolished; that official franking should be strictly regulated; and that the House should pledge itself at the same time to make good any deficiency of revenue which might be occasioned by such an alteration in the rates of the existing duties.

The proposal was opposed by Mr. Goulbourn, Sir Robert Peel, and other members of the Tory party, chiefly on financial grounds, and the large powers granted to the Treasury; but it was carried by a majority of nearly two to one. In the House of Lords the Duke of Wellington said, though he felt little confidence in the measure, and could never cease to lament that it should ever have been adopted, yet under all the circumstances, he earnestly entreated their Lordships to pass it, as it was most anxiously expected by the country. The Peers followed the judicious advice of their illustrious leader, and the Bill became law without further opposition.

It was evidently a matter of paramount importance that the carrying out this new scheme should be intrusted to its inventor; but no place could be found for him in the Post Office, which, from the time it was first mooted, had done nothing towards the penny postage but 'oppose, delay, contradict, and show itself uniformly wrong.' A place, however, was made for him in the Treasury. Mr. Hill at this time was Secretary to the South Australian Colonization Commission, a comfortable and permanent office; and he was offered a partnership in a well-known London firm which would have yielded him £2500 a year. But he was not connected in any way, not even by a tenth cousinship, with any of the 'great governing families of England;' an engagement for two years only at a salary of £500 was therefore regarded as an adequate remuneration for the services of a schoolmaster's son, who was to give up his whole time to the duties of his office. 'I could scarcely avoid,' says Mr. Hill, 'regarding the offer as an affront.' When his brother heard the insulting proposal, 'his face flushed, and his whole frame quivered with indignation.' The Treasury speedily found that they had made a mistake, and they offered in succession to raise Mr. Hill's salary to £800, £1000, and ultimately to £1500 a year. On these terms, though thwarted and opposed at every turn by the Post-Office authorities, with Colonel Maberley at their head, Mr. Hill continued to labour indefatigably to facilitate the progress and to diminish the cost of his scheme. But in 1842 the Conservatives, who by this time had come into power, dismissed him from his office on the plea that his work was completed, while in reality it was little more than begun, and turned him adrift to begin the world anew at nearly fifty years of age, without employment of any kind being offered him. This act of scandalous injustice and ingratitude to a great public benefactor excited deep and general indignation throughout the country. The sum of £16,000 was subscribed and presented to Mr. Hill, and he received many other gratifying tokens of the estimation in which his beneficent invention was held. In 1846, on the downfall of Sir Robert Peel's Administration, Mr. Hill was made Secretary to the Postmaster-General (an office created for him), but at a lower salary than he had received at the Treasury. He found him-

self, as before, in perpetual discord with the Post-Office authorities, who opposed and thwarted him in every way, and even stirred up the subordinates in the department to resist Mr. Hill's plans. At length, in 1854, another situation was provided for Colonel Maberley (the 'inharmonious Secretary'), and Mr. Hill was appointed to be Secretary at the Post Office, the position which he ought to have held from the first. Then, at last, his long contemplated reforms were fully and fairly carried out, including the amalgamation of the general and district posts, the division of London into ten districts, the earlier delivery of letters all over the country, the book and parcel post, the registration of letters, packet service, colonial postage, telegraphs, rectification of accounts, and all the other familiar improvements which have contributed so largely to promote the public benefit and the public convenience.

The benefits of the penny postage were not limited to the United Kingdom and its colonial dependencies. Strange to say, Spain and Russia, who usually lag in the rear of European civilization and liberality, were the first countries to adopt the improvement; but their example was speedily followed by other Continental Governments, and by 1854 Mr. Hill's plan had been adopted, more or less completely, also in Austria, Baden, Bavaria, Belgium, Brazil, Bremen, Brunswick, Chili, Denmark, France, Frankfort, Hamburg, Hanover, Lubeck, Naples, New Granada, Netherlands, Oldenburg, Peru, Portugal, Prussia, Sardinia, Saxony, Switzerland, Tuscany, United States, and Wurtemberg. Sweden did not long remain an exception.

'Peace has its triumphs no less glorious than those of war;' and the victory achieved by Sir Rowland Hill, on behalf not only of his fellow-countrymen, but of mankind, is one of the most important and beneficent ever gained in the history of civilization. The financial, commercial, and political advantages of cheap and speedy postage have been chronicled and reiterated by a thousand pens; and it has been fully set forth how largely our country, and indeed the whole civilized world, have been benefited by its agency both direct and indirect; how postal communications, letters, newspapers, and post-cards have been increased twenty-fold, and Post Offices six-fold; and how the net revenue yielded by the Post Office has been doubled, after providing to an enormously larger extent and incomparably greater efficiency for the requirements of the public. The wants and wishes of the most distant nations are now made known to the busy population in the great central seats of industry; and the literature, the scientific discoveries, and the moral and religious disquisitions of Britain, as well as her manufactures, are conveyed to the ends of the earth with a rapidity almost incredible. The results of the system in promoting the advancement of commerce, education, art, and science at home, and in bringing distant nations into close and friendly intercourse, have largely exceeded the most sanguine expectations. But the influence which it has exerted on the moral and intellectual welfare of our countrymen, and the benefits which it has conferred on social and domestic interests, far surpass in value the sum of its material advantages. When the sons and daughters of the industrious classes of the community leave, as they must do, the protection of the paternal roof to enter upon the battle of life, and to encounter the temptations and the difficulties which attend every active career, they are no longer saddened, as formerly, by the sense of an entire separation from home and its affections and sympathy. The moral dangers which the young of both sexes incur on their entrance upon life are now incalculably lessened by the facilities afforded them of at once making known their circumstances, and asking counsel of their best friends—a safeguard which without doubt has preserved many thousands from becoming aliens and outcasts from the family circle. The knowledge that home is still near, as it were,

and of ready access; the facility afforded them of obtaining a father's or a mother's advice and sympathy in the time of need; the opportunity of disburdening their minds of cares, anxieties, and apprehensions—must be of especially inestimable value to the hundreds and thousands of operatives, artizans, shop-women, milliners, and domestic servants, who are compelled to quit in search of employment the rural districts in which they were brought up, and to expose themselves to all the temptations of a great city. Instead of the sense of utter loneliness under their separation from home and intercourse only with strangers, which must have oppressed a former generation of their class, they are now cheered and strengthened by the thought that the best influences of their old life are still mingling with and purifying and elevating the new; for what was forty years ago a rare and expensive indulgence, is now a benefit which may be enjoyed by all. Hardly less important must this ready access to home, this unrestrained intercourse with friends, be to the sick and the suffering, the aged and the infirm; and the influence of the frequent letter, the occasional flower or other reminiscence of home, in smoothing the pillow of the sick, or, on the other hand, the effect of the daily bulletin in relieving the anxieties of absent friends, cannot well be over-estimated. The venerable author of this beneficent system enjoyed the rare felicity of witnessing the marvellous success of his scheme, not merely in vastly expanding the commerce and augmenting the wealth of the country, but also in encouraging science and literature, and above all in directly promoting the social and domestic virtues and the happiness of all classes of the community. The services of this great public benefactor were at last fully appreciated by the Government, as they had long before been by the country. He received the honour of knighthood from the sovereign, and the degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford, the freedom of the city of London, and numerous other tokens of public gratitude. On his resignation of his office in 1864, on account of severe illness and advanced years, he was awarded his full salary for life, and received in addition a grant of £20,000 from Parliament. He survived his retirement from active life fifteen years, and passed away, August 27, 1879, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. The mortal remains of the author of the greatest social improvement that has taken place in the present century, perhaps in the history of our country, were worthily deposited in the British Valhalla, Westminster Abbey, beside those of our great poets, historians, men of science, philanthropists, statesmen, and warriors; and his memory will long be affectionately cherished by the people who have benefited so largely by his labours.

At the close of the session of 1839 several important changes took place in the Ministry. Spring Rice was appointed Comptroller of the Exchequer, and was elevated to the House of Lords with the title of Baron Monteagle. Francis Baring was selected to succeed him as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Marquis of Normanby was transferred from the Colonial to the Home Office; and Lord John Russell became Colonial Minister. Lord Howick was so much dissatisfied with these interchanges of offices that he resigned the Secretaryship of the War Office; and his brother-in-law, Mr. Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax), retired from the Admiralty. Mr. Macaulay, who had recently returned from India, succeeded Lord Howick at the War Office, and was elected member for Edinburgh. On the reconstruction of the Ministry, Mr. Abercromby resigned the Speakership on the ground of ill health, and was replaced by Mr. John Shaw Lefevre, who was elected (27th May) by 317 votes to 299 over Mr. Goulbourn the Tory candidate for the office.

CHAPTER XVI.

Marriage of the Queen—Discussions in Parliament respecting Prince Albert's Naturalization and Annuity—Popularity of the Queen's choice—Character of Prince Albert—State of the Country—Quarrel between the Parliament and the Courts of Law—The case of Stockdale *v.* Hansard—Resolutions of the House of Commons respecting privilege—Actions brought by Stockdale—Stockdale and the Sheriffs committed—The Government Bill to settle the Question passed—The Irish Municipal Bill passed—Protest of Bishop Phillpotts—Vote of Want of Confidence in the Ministry proposed, but rejected—Stanley's Irish Registration Bill—Disorderly Scene in the House of Commons—Registration Bills of Stanley and Morpeth—Financial Embarrassments of the Government—The Budgets of 1840 and 1841—The Corn Laws—The Ministry defeated on the Sugar Duties—A vote of Want of Confidence carried—Dissolution of Parliament—Election Returns unfavourable to the Ministry—Their Resignation—Measures carried by the Whig Administration.

THE Parliament was opened by the Queen in person on the 16th of January, 1840, and the speech from the throne announced her intention to marry her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, the second son of Ernest the reigning Duke of Saxe-Coburg, and nephew to Leopold, King of Belgium, and to the Duchess of Kent. A marriage between the heiress to the British crown and Prince Albert had been thought most desirable by her mother's relatives at a time when the two were mere children. Nothing, however, was said on the subject until after a visit which the Prince paid to England along with his father in 1836, when the youthful sovereign seemed to cherish a marked preference for her handsome cousin. Prince Albert visited England again in 1839, and the Queen, in a letter to her uncle, King Leopold, expressed her opinion of him in such glowing terms as clearly to foreshadow the approaching result. 'Albert's beauty,' she said, 'is most striking, and he is most amiable and unaffected; in short, very fascinating.' The betrothal took place on the 10th of October, and was formally announced to the members of the Privy Council at Buckingham Palace, on the 23rd of November. The intimation was most cordially welcomed by the nation; and at the opening of the session of Parliament enthusiastic crowds lined the streets from Buckingham Palace to Westminster, and the formal announcement by Her Majesty was received with the warmest congratulations and expressions of sympathy from members on both sides of the House. Sir Robert Peel, in supporting the address of congratulation which followed, said 'Her Majesty has the singular good fortune to be able to gratify her private feelings while she performs her public duty, and to obtain the best guarantee for happiness by contracting an alliance founded on affection.'

Some members of the royal family, however, were desirous that Her Majesty should marry her cousin, Prince George of Cambridge; and it was well known that a number of the ultra-Tories viewed with strong dissatisfaction the prospect of her alliance with a member of the Coburg family. Gossip and malice were soon at work, propagating injurious rumours respecting Prince Albert's religious opinions. It was reported in some circles that he was a Roman Catholic, in others that he was a Radical and an Infidel. The Ministry, in the declaration of marriage to the Privy Council, thoughtlessly and imprudently omitted to mention the fact that the bridegroom elect was Protestant. They imagined that this was unnecessary, as it was notorious that he belonged to that branch of the Saxon family which, since the Reformation, had been conspicuous for its attachment to the Protestant cause. 'There has not,' Prince Albert himself wrote to the Queen, 'been a single Catholic Princess introduced into the Coburg family since the appearance of Luther in 1521.

Moreover, the Elector, Frederick the Wise of Saxony, was the very first Protestant that ever lived.' It was equally well known that the marriage of a British sovereign to a Roman Catholic involved *ipso facto* the forfeiture of the crown. But, nevertheless, the shrewd King of the Belgians, who formed a more correct estimate than Her Majesty's ministers of popular prejudices and of the misrepresentations of faction, expressed strongly, in a letter to the Queen, that the mention of the Prince's being a Protestant could do no harm, while its omission 'would give rise to interminable growling.' On religious matters,' he added, 'one cannot be too prudent, because one can never see what passionate use people will make of such a thing.' Lord Melbourne and his colleagues, however, declined to follow King Leopold's prudent advice, and this omission led to a somewhat unpleasant discussion in the House of Lords, and to the adoption of a motion made by the Duke of Wellington, that the word 'Protestant' should be inserted in the congratulatory address to the Queen. It is significant of the extent to which party feeling ran at this time, that the Duke charged the Ministry with having purposely made the omission through fear of giving offence to their Irish and Roman Catholic supporters.

A still more unpleasant discussion took place respecting the naturalization of the Prince and the provision to be made for him by the country, which in all probability might have been prevented if the Ministry had prepared the Bill for his naturalization with proper care, and had taken the precaution to communicate confidentially beforehand with the leaders of the Opposition. The Bill which was introduced into the House of Lords on the 20th of January was simply entitled a Bill for the Naturalization of the Prince; but it contained a clause to give him precedence for life, 'next after Her Majesty, in Parliament or elsewhere, as Her Majesty might think proper;' and had this provision been adopted, the Prince, in the event of his surviving the Queen without issue, would have taken precedence of the eldest son of the heir presumptive. The measure was strongly objected to by the Duke of Wellington, Lord Brougham, and others, both on account of its form and its merits, and it was certainly a most injudicious step for the Government to bring forward a proposal of such a nature without any previous notice to Parliament.

No provision had been made in the constitution of the country respecting the title and precedence of the husband of the Queen-Regnant; and if the matter had remained unsettled, it would have been a subject of constant annoyance to Her Majesty, and of embarrassment to the Prince. The Queen herself said 'much bad feeling was shown on the subject; several members of the royal family showed bad grace in giving precedence to the Prince, and the King of Hanover positively resisted doing so.' Even the Duke of Sussex was disposed to stand for what he called the rights of his family. But the course which the Ministers adopted to settle this question showed a great want of judgment, and even of common propriety. In the end they were obliged to give way, and to limit the Bill to the object expressed in the title—the simple naturalization of the Prince; leaving the question of precedence to be dealt with by the exercise of the royal prerogative.

The question of Prince Albert's annuity came before the House of Commons on the 24th of January. Following the precedents in the instances of Queen Anne's husband, and of Prince Leopold, Queen Charlotte, and Queen Adelaide, Lord John Russell proposed that the sum of £50,000 a year should be settled upon the Prince for life. A proposal made by Mr. Hume, that the amount should be reduced to £21,000, was negatived; but a motion by Colonel Sibthorp, an extreme Tory of eccentric character and manners, was supported by Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, Mr. Goulbourn, and other leading Conservatives, as well as by the Radicals,

and was carried by a majority of 262 votes to 158. The state of feeling displayed in Parliament by these adverse decisions could not fail to cause a good deal of annoyance, both to the Queen and the Prince. 'You can easily imagine,' he wrote to the Queen, 'the very unpleasant effect produced upon me by the news of the truly most unseemly vote of the House of Commons about my annuity;' and his biographer admits that these incidents caused considerable pain and vexation to the Queen at the time. The part which the Conservatives took in reducing the grant to the Prince, so much out of keeping with their usual mode of procedure, was popularly attributed to their mortification at the manner in which, shortly before, they had been disappointed in their expectations of obtaining office. But Lord Melbourne, with his habitual frankness and candour, admitted that the blame was shared by his own supporters. 'The prince,' he said to Stockmar a few days afterwards, 'will be very angry at the Tories. But it is not the Tories only whom the prince has to thank for cutting down his allowance. It is rather the Tories, the Radicals, and a great proportion of our own people.'

Whatever might be the feelings of disappointed and factious politicians, the Queen's marriage was highly popular among the great body of the people. The ceremony was fixed for the 10th of February, 1840; and when the Prince came over to England, a few days before the wedding, he received a most enthusiastic welcome from the crowds who met and followed him everywhere. Tall, handsome, and graceful, he was every way fitted to fulfil the popular idea of what a prince and the bridegroom of the sovereign ought to be; and to complete the national satisfaction, it was well known that the Queen's choice had been made, not from State policy, but from genuine affection. 'It is this,' said Lord Melbourne, 'that makes your Majesty's marriage so popular.' The choice was, indeed, singularly fortunate both as regards Her Majesty's own happiness and the welfare of her subjects. The Prince was possessed of sterling good sense as well as of fine taste, and varied and high attainments in arts, science, and letters, which would have obtained for him distinction in any sphere of life. He devoted himself from the first, with conscientious diligence and unwearied industry, to the discharge of the duties of his station, and throughout conducted himself, in a position of great delicacy and responsibility, with a prudence and discretion as admirable as it is rare. Young as he was, when he became the husband of the Queen, he had carefully studied the constitutional history of states both in ancient and modern times; and he now acquired an intimate knowledge of the constitution of the country which was henceforth to be his home, and was careful to keep strictly within its limits, holding himself aloof from political faction and party politics. During the whole of her too brief married life, the Queen found in him not only a husband morally and intellectually worthy to be the head of the highest family in the land, but a judicious and disinterested counsellor on whom she could lean with implicit trust amid all the duties and difficulties of her exalted office.

The wedded life of the Queen began at a time when the political horizon was gloomy and threatening. Abroad there were wars and rumours of wars, and at home a deficient revenue, commercial embarrassments, and distress among the labouring classes, both manufacturing and agricultural. Since 1836 there had been a succession of bad harvests, which had raised the price of provisions to an alarming extent, while a general stagnation of trade had restricted employment and reduced the rate of wages so far as to subject the workmen and their families to severe privations. Political agitators took advantage of the wide-spread distress and consequent discontent among the labouring classes, to teach sedition and to form a wide-spread organization to obtain by force what they were induced to believe were

their constitutional rights. Insurrectionary risings in consequence took place in various parts of the country, and were not suppressed without bloodshed and great destruction of property. The fire thus kindled continued to smoulder for years, and ultimately, as we shall see, was productive of strikes and combination riots which seriously imperiled the peace and safety of the country. Melbourne, with his characteristic shrewdness and public spirit, recommended the Queen at this critical juncture of affairs to 'hold out the olive branch a little' to the Opposition; and he expressed to the Prince his opinion 'that the court ought to take advantage of the present moment to treat all parties, especially the Tories, in the spirit of a general amnesty.'

Meanwhile, however, the Ministry and the Parliament were more deeply interested in a quarrel which had arisen between the Legislature and the courts of law, than in the grievances and discontents of the working classes of the community. In 1836 the inspectors of prisons reported that they had found in Newgate a book, published by J. J. Stockdale, which they considered 'disgusting,' and its plates 'indecent and obscene.' Stockdale brought an action for libel against Messrs. Hansard, the Parliamentary printers who had published the inspectors' report on prisons; and they were instructed by the House of Commons to plead, first, that the publication was privileged, and second, that the libel was true. The jury returned a verdict for the defendant on the second issue, thus avoiding the question of privilege; but Chief-Justice Denman, before whom the issue was tried, in his charge declared that Parliament had no right to authorize the publication of libels on individuals. The House of Commons, without hesitation, accepted the challenge which the Chief-Justice had thrown out to them, and by a majority of more than three to one, resolved that the power of publishing such of its reports, votes, and proceedings as it shall deem necessary, is essential to the constitutional functions of Parliament; that by the law and privilege of Parliament this House has the sole and exclusive jurisdiction to determine upon the existence and extent of its privileges; that the institution of any suit for the purpose of bringing them under discussion before any other court, is a high breach of such privilege; and that for any court or tribunal to decide upon matters of privilege inconsistent with the determination of either House of Parliament, is a breach and contempt of the privileges of Parliament.

Stockdale, however, was not deterred by this resolution from proceeding in the course on which he had entered. He purchased a second copy of the prison inspectors' report, and brought, in the spring of 1837, another action for the same libel—the sale of every fresh copy being considered in law a separate publication of the libel. The Attorney-General was directed to plead that the Hansards had acted by the order of the House of Commons; but the four judges of the Queen's Bench unanimously repelled the plea, and Stockdale's damages were assessed at £100. A few months later he brought a third action against the publishers. In accordance with the directions of the Speaker, they declined to plead to the action, and judgment was suffered to go against them by default. Damages were assessed at £600. They were levied by the Sheriffs, William Evans and John Wheelton, by order of Court; and on the 11th January, 1840, Stockdale obtained a rule, returnable on the 17th, ordering them to pay over to him the money which they had levied. Parliament assembled on the 16th, and promptly resolved to assert its privileges. By a large majority the Sheriffs were ordered to appear at the bar of the House, bringing with them the documents and authorities under which they acted. Next day it was resolved that Stockdale should be committed, under the Speaker's warrant, for breach of privilege. The bookseller deserved no sympathy, and received none; but it was otherwise with the Sheriffs.

These unfortunate officials were ordered by the Court of Queen's Bench to pay the money which they had levied to Stockdale. If they refused, they were aware that Chief-Justice Denman would send them to the Marshalsea for contempt of court. On the other hand, the House of Commons ordered them to refund to the Hansards the money which they had received for the sale of their goods; and if they refused, they might be committed by the House to Newgate for a breach of privilege. In this dilemma the Sheriffs resolved to obey the Court rather than the House of Commons, and were as a natural consequence committed to the custody of the Sergeant-at-arms.

Three days afterwards the Sergeant-at-arms informed the House that he had been served with a writ of Habeas Corpus from the Court of Queen's Bench, commanding him to produce the Sheriffs in court. He was directed to comply with the order, but to inform the court that these officials had been committed for a breach of the privileges of the House. In cases of committal for contempt the judges have no power to interfere, and the sorely perplexed citizens were sent back to prison. On the same day (January 25th) the irrepressible Stockdale, though in prison, commenced a fourth action against the Hansards; and the Commons were in consequence compelled to persevere in the course on which they had entered. Howard, Stockdale's attorney, who had been previously summoned to the bar of the House, and had been merely reprimanded, was now arrested and committed to Newgate. As before, the defendants declined to plead, and judgment was entered against them by default. Stockdale, who in spite of his imprisonment found that these proceedings were highly remunerative as they brought him both notoriety and money, commenced a fifth action on the 17th of February, which led the House to pass a resolution threatening severe censure on all who should aid in the prosecution of such an action, and to follow this up by committing Howard's son and his clerk to Newgate.

These proceedings were highly unpopular out of doors among those who did not comprehend the nature and importance of the question at issue; and it had evidently become necessary that the perilous dispute between the courts of law and the Parliament should be set at rest. Sir Robert Peel, who had given his strenuous support to the steps taken by the House to vindicate its authority, expressed his conviction that the time had come when it would be perfectly consistent, with a due regard to their own dignity and the public interests, to settle the difficulty by enactment. On the 5th of March, Lord John Russell introduced a Bill to give summary protection to all persons employed in the publication of Parliamentary papers. It declared that, 'whereas it is essential to the due and effectual discharge of the functions and duties of Parliament that no obstruction should exist to the publication of the reports, papers, votes, or proceedings of either House as such House should deem fit,' it is to be lawful 'for any person or persons, against whom any civil or criminal proceedings shall be taken on account of such publication, to bring before the court a certificate under the hand of the Lord Chancellor or the Speaker, stating that it was published by the authority of the House, and the proceedings should at once be stayed.' The Bill was opposed by nearly all the lawyers in the House, and by a considerable portion of the rank and file of the Conservative party; but with the powerful support of Sir Robert Peel in the Commons, and of the Duke of Wellington in the Lords, it was carried rapidly through both Houses, and became law on the 14th of April. Although this Act did not settle the respective rights and privileges of Parliament and the courts of law, or vindicate the privilege of Parliament, it brought to a satisfactory termination a controversy which had almost entirely arrested the progress of public business in

the House of Commons, and threatened to lead to very serious consequences.

It was so far an advantage to the Ministry that the attention both of Parliament and of the public was at this time diverted, by the controversy with the courts of law, from other questions which they were unable to settle, and yet could not let alone. A measure for the reform of the Irish municipalities was, however, at length passed. The Tories, who now saw that their return to office could not be much longer delayed, grudgingly allowed a very imperfect Bill to be carried through both Houses, which conferred the principle of self-government on the larger towns of Ireland. The town councils were to be elected by the householders rated at £10 a year. With regard to the other towns, the Lord-Lieutenant was authorized to confer a charter on any of them on the application of a majority of the inhabitants rated at the same sum. Meanwhile the corporate property of those towns worth £100 a year was to be managed by Commissioners appointed under an Act of George IV.; the property of those towns which did not reach that amount was intrusted to the Poor-Law Guardians. The measure was exceedingly unsatisfactory to the people of Ireland, and indeed to all fair-minded persons; but the Ministry, in their feeble state, were fain to accept whatever terms the Opposition thought fit to concede. The Bill, limited as it was in its operation, was opposed in the House of Commons by the Irish Conservative members and by Sir Robert Inglis, who admitted the monopoly, corruption, and sectarianism of the existing system, but asserted that the measure would operate as 'a heavy blow and great discouragement' to the Protestant religion in Ireland; and in the House of Lords, Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, entered his protest against it, 'because by this wilful and deliberate abandonment of the cause of true religion, and of the security of the Church in Ireland, we have provoked the justice of Almighty God, and have given too much reason to apprehend the visitation of divine vengeance for this presumptuous act of national disobedience.'

The Ministry was evidently tottering to its fall; but the more impatient spirits among the Tory party were unwilling to wait for its natural demise, and in the beginning of the session of 1840 Sir John Yarde Buller, one of the members for Devonshire, moved that 'Her Majesty's Government, as at present constituted, does not possess the confidence of this House.' The motion was seconded by Alderman Thompson, who had at one time represented the city of London in the Liberal interest. After a debate protracted over three nights, and in which the leading members on both sides of the House took part, the motion was rejected by a majority of twenty-one; the votes being 287 for, and 308 against it. Undiscouraged by this defeat, the Opposition renewed their attacks on specific acts of the Government. A motion, proposed by Sir James Graham, condemnatory of their policy with reference to China, was lost by only nine votes. The scandalous unfairness of election committees was universally acknowledged, and demanded an immediate remedy. The Ministry, however, in their enfeebled state, could not venture to deal with the question; and it was left to Sir Robert Peel to bring in a measure authorizing the Speaker to appoint a general committee of elections, which should be intrusted with the duty of appointing committees for the trial of disputed returns. The Bill was readily passed by both Houses; and though it ultimately failed to give satisfaction, and had to be superseded by a different system, it put an end to the scandal of election ballots.

It was admitted on all hands that the Irish system of registration was in a most unsatisfactory state, and afforded great facilities for fraud and the manufacture of faggot votes. The Government introduced several bills to amend the system, but they made no progress; and at length

Lord Stanley brought forward a Registration Bill, which, if passed, would have had the effect of greatly reducing the number of electors. It was therefore violently opposed by O'Connell; and the Government, after some hesitation, used all their influence to procure its rejection. The second reading of the Bill, however, was carried by a majority of 250 votes to 234. In the committee, out of nine divisions there was only one in which a majority voted against every part of the plan. Every obstacle, however, was thrown in the way of the measure; and at length, finding it impossible to carry it through during the session of 1840, Stanley withdrew the Bill, pledging himself to bring it forward again early in 1841. The discussions on the measure were of the most acrimonious character. O'Connell denounced the Bill as the 'Scorpion Bill,' and its author as 'Scorpion Stanley.' On the other hand, Charles Buller declared in the House that the shouts of the Tories were 'insults the most gross that he had ever seen proceeding from persons in the position of gentlemen.' While O'Connell was arguing that the Bill was intended 'to trample on the rights of the people of Ireland,' the Opposition laughed, whistled, and bellowed in the most discreditable manner. The Agitator, infuriated by this behaviour, exclaimed, 'If you were ten times as beastly in your uproar and bellowing, I should still feel it my duty to interfere to prevent this injustice.' A scene of the most disgraceful uproar ensued, which the Chairman of the Committee proved quite unable to suppress or even to moderate; but O'Connell could not be induced to withdraw the offensive phrase.

The session of 1841 opened quietly, and somewhat more auspiciously for the Ministry. Their foreign diplomacy had been successful, political agitation had almost entirely ceased, the agricultural and commercial interests were prosperous, and the people seemed to be contented. The Government evidently felt that they had not strength sufficient to deal with any important or difficult questions; and Mr. Grote justly characterized the speech from the throne as 'not very rich in promises, presenting the sketch of a session as blank in prospect as the preceding session was in reality.' The condition of Ireland, however, still presented an inexhaustible source of discussion and controversy; and on the very evening on which Parliament met, Lord Stanley gave notice of his intention to bring forward again his Registration Bill. The Government did not venture to oppose the introduction of the measure, though they declared that it did not propose to deal with the Irish franchise in a way that would be satisfactory to the Irish people. But two days later they introduced a Bill of their own, which differed from that of Stanley mainly in the proposal to extend the franchise to householders rented at £5 a year. After a debate, which lasted four nights, the second reading of this Bill was carried by a majority of only five votes—299 to 294. Farther procedure with the measure was postponed till the 28th of April, amid general expressions of dissatisfaction. It was then proposed to raise the qualification for ratepayers in counties from a £5 to an £8 rating. But Lord Howick moved an amendment on the first clause, embodying a plan of his own, and carried it by a majority of twenty-one. The Government agreed to accept this amendment, but ultimately they found themselves in a minority of eleven and withdrew the Bill. The only thing gained by the time spent in discussing it, was to render it impossible for Lord Stanley to carry his Bill, which he had kept close in the rear of the Ministerial project.

As the session advanced, the weakness of the Government became daily more visible, and their financial embarrassments at length brought about their long-expected dismissal from office. They had from the first displayed an incapacity to manage satisfactorily the financial affairs of the country, and under the administration of Spring Rice

they had steadily gone from bad to worse. Although it was well known that the establishment of the cheap postage system would cause a large deficiency in the revenue, with a carelessness quite unpardonable Rice had made no attempt to provide for it. In 1839, the last year in which he presided at the Exchequer, he had estimated the revenue for 1840 at £48,128,000, while it had amounted to only £47,843,000; the expenditure, which he had placed at £48,988,000, had risen to £49,300,000. The deficit which Spring Rice had computed at £860,000, had thus reached £1,457,000. Baring, the successor of this incapable and careless financier, stated frankly that in his opinion the revenue for 1840–41 could not be expected to exceed £47,034,000, while the expenditure would reach £49,432,000. Rice's four years' administration of the finances of the country had caused a deficit of £1,400,000 in 1837; of £400,000 in 1838; of £1,457,000 in 1839; and an estimated deficit of £2,732,000 in 1840.

Baring did what he could to bring the finances into a healthy state, but the effort was beyond his power. He proposed an addition of 10 per cent. to the assessed taxes, 5 per cent. on the Customs and Excise, and 4*d.* a gallon on spirits. But he did not expect to obtain more than £1,891,000 from these sources, so that on his own calculation he had to commence the year with a deficit of £800,000. The result, however, was much worse than he had expected. The revenue which he had estimated at £48,591,000, only reached £47,443,000; so that, though the expenditure was £147,000 less than his estimate, the deficiency on the year amounted to no less a sum than £1,842,000. To increase the difficulties of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he found that while the revenue of the country was steadily diminishing, the expenditure was as steadily increasing; and that for 1841–42 it would not be less than £50,731,226, while he could not rely on a revenue of more than £48,310,000.

In these circumstances it was evidently hopeless to attempt to get rid of a deficiency of £2,421,000 by making additions to the existing taxes. Baring was, therefore, compelled to resort to a new system, and to try the expedient of increasing the revenue by diminishing some of those taxes which had been imposed on foreign commodities for the sake of protection, not of revenue, and in this way to extend their consumption. The duty on colonial timber was 10*s.* a load, and on Baltic timber 55*s.* He resolved to adopt the plan which had been proposed by Earl Spencer—to raise the duty on colonial timber to 20*s.* a load, and to reduce the duty on Baltic timber to 50*s.* The duty on colonial sugar was 24*s.* a cwt., while that on foreign sugar was 63*s.* He proposed to reduce the duty on the latter to 36*s.*, which would still leave a protection of 50 per cent. to the former. He expected that these alterations would yield him at least £1,300,000. After making provision for pressing demands by an issue of Exchequer bills and the loan of Savings Bank funds, a deficiency of £400,000 would still require to be provided for; but the resolution, of which Lord John Russell had that evening given notice, to submit the question of the corn trade to the consideration of the House, would, he believed, make arrangements for the supply of that amount. During the course of the discussion which ensued, Lord Sandon demanded that the Government should state in explicit terms their intentions with regard to the Corn Laws; and Russell announced that he should propose a moderate fixed duty—a principle which he had already supported—and that the proposal would be brought forward as a measure of the Government united on the subject. On the 7th of May he made the additional intimation, that the duties which he intended to propose on the importation of corn were, on wheat 8*s.* per quarter, on rye 5*s.*, on barley 4*s.* 6*d.*, and on oats 3*s.* 4*d.*

This announcement produced a great excitement among the classes most deeply interested, either in the abolition or the

maintenance of the existing protective duties. The Anti-Corn Law League, which was rapidly becoming a power in the country, saw clearly that, although the proposals of the Government fell short of their demands, a moderate fixed duty would remove not a few of the evils of the present system, and was a great step towards the total abolition of the duties on corn, with which alone they would be satisfied. They, therefore, set to work with great activity to organize meetings in the principal towns, and to stimulate the public to petition on behalf of the Ministerial scheme. On the other hand, the agricultural party were indignant at the proposed abolition of protective duties, which they regarded as essential to the prosperity and even existence of the landed interest, and vehemently protested against the Ministerial measures. Meetings were also convened of the persons engaged in the colonial timber trade, and of the planters, merchants, and others interested in the West Indian Colonies. And to crown all, the Anti-slavery societies throughout the country took the alarm at a scheme which they believed, by throwing open our markets to slave-grown sugar, would give an impulse to slavery in Cuba and Brazil. While these powerful bodies were uniting in their opposition to the Ministerial proposals, the people at large were not yet aware of the magnitude of the interests at stake, and put forth no general or earnest efforts in their support. The conversion, too, of the majority of the members of the Cabinet to free-trade principles was regarded as too sudden to be altogether sincere; and the scheme was believed by not a few to be intended rather to keep the Ministry in office than to promote the general welfare of the community.

On the 7th of May, when the House went into the Committee of Ways and Means, Lord Sandon proposed 'that considering the efforts and sacrifices which Parliament and the country have made for the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery, with the earnest hope that their exertions and examples might lead to a mitigation and final extinction of these evils in other countries, this House is not prepared (especially with the present prospects of the supply of sugar from the British possessions) to adopt the measure proposed by Her Majesty's Government for the reduction of the duty on foreign sugar.' The motion was dexterously drawn up in such terms as to secure the support both of the West Indian and planter interests, and of the men who had brought about the abolition of slavery; and after a keen debate which extended over eight nights, the Ministry were defeated by a majority of 36 in a House of 598—there being 281 in their favour and 317 against them.

It was generally expected that, as a matter of course after this decisive defeat, which in addition virtually rejected Baring's budget, the Ministers would either immediately resign their offices or appeal to the country. But to the surprise of the public, and the indignation of the victorious Conservatives, the Chancellor of the Exchequer quietly gave notice that on the following Monday he should move the usual sugar duties; and Lord John Russell announced that he intended to bring forward the corn question on the 4th of June. The tide, however, was now running so strongly against the Government, that Sir Robert Peel resolved to forestall the discussion on the corn laws by a direct vote of want of confidence, and thus to compel the Ministry either to resign or to dissolve Parliament at once. Accordingly, on the 29th of May, the Conservative leader moved 'that Her Majesty's Ministers do not sufficiently possess the confidence of the House of Commons to enable them to carry through the House measures which they deem of essential importance to the public welfare; and that their continuance in office under such circumstances is at variance with the spirit of the Constitution.' The debate on this motion lasted four nights, and after a

splendid display of parliamentary eloquence, it terminated in the defeat of the Government by a majority of one in a House of 623 members. The Cabinet had already, on their defeat on the question of the sugar duties, considered what course they should take. Melbourne, Lansdowne, and Labouchere were for resigning at once. But Lord John Russell and the majority were in favour of an appeal to the country. Melbourne, on being outvoted on the question, submitted to the decision of his colleagues. On communicating the result of their deliberations to the Queen, he said, 'Of course I felt I could but go with them; so we shall go on, bring in the old sugar duties, and then if things are in a pretty good state dissolve.' The result showed that it would have been well for the party if the Cabinet had followed the advice of the Premier, and resigned at once after their defeat on the sugar duties. On the Monday after the vote of no-confidence was carried, Russell announced that no time would be lost in dissolving Parliament and summoning another without delay. The business of the session was accordingly wound up as quickly as possible. On the 22nd of June Parliament was prorogued by the Queen in person, and on the 23rd it was dissolved by royal proclamation. The writs for the new Parliament were made returnable on the 29th of August.

The most strenuous efforts were made by both parties to obtain a majority in this election. The Conservatives, however, had been much more attentive to the registration than their opponents; and from the first it was evident that the Ministry were to meet with a signal defeat. Their supporters could only appeal to what they intended to do in the way of promoting free trade; but their opponents did not allow it to be forgotten that only a short time before, the Prime Minister had declared that the man must be mad who would propose to abolish the corn laws; and that Lord John Russell had pronounced such a measure mischievous, absurd, impracticable, and unnecessary. As yet public opinion was divided on the question of free trade. The great body even of the commercial and manufacturing classes were not alive to its importance, and were consequently not prepared to make any great sacrifices or any vigorous effort for its attainment. On the other hand, a most formidable array of the most powerful interests in the country were bent on the expulsion of the Whigs from office. The agricultural party cherished towards them a bitter grudge for their refusal to abolish the malt tax, or to grant their demands for the redress of what they regarded as their peculiar grievances; and the proposal to reduce the duty on foreign corn had thrown them into a frenzy of alarm. The clergy regarded as sacrilege the proposal to appropriate any part of the revenues of the Irish Church to secular purposes; while Dissenters and Radicals blamed the Government for abandoning the appropriation clause. The unsatisfactory state of the revenue, and the increase of the national debt, had raised distrust among the moneyed interest; and the proposal to alter the timber and sugar duties had excited the hostility of the colonial and shipping interests. The Chartists had been alienated by the refusal of the Ministry to support the reduction of the franchise and other points of the Charter; and many of the manufacturing operatives were induced to believe that cheap bread would inevitably be followed by low wages. The Conservative journals and platform orators rung the changes on the Bedchamber manœuvre; the presentation, to the Queen, of Robert Owen the Socialist by Lord Melbourne himself; and the patronage which for their own purposes O'Connell and the Irish Repealers had extended to the Ministry. The impotent condition into which the Government had fallen, and their inability to carry any of their measures except by the sufferance of the Opposition, made candid and impartial onlookers come to the conclusion that the welfare of the country would be

promoted by the transference of the management of public affairs, and the transaction of the daily business of the nation, to other and more competent hands. In addition to all this, immense sums of money were spent by the Tory candidates to secure the support of the freemen and other venal electors; and there was good reason to believe that such an amount of bribery had never been known at any previous election. The result was that the Conservative gain, on this appeal to the constituencies, exceeded even their most sanguine expectations.

The election in the city of London, as usual, led the way. It had returned four Whigs to the last Parliament; but it sent two Conservatives to the new House of Commons, one of whom headed the poll, while Lord John Russell, who had been one of its previous representatives, was at the bottom of it, only escaping defeat by seven votes. This result was significant of the issue of the elections throughout England. In the West Riding of Yorkshire, Lords Morpeth and Milton were defeated by two Conservatives. Lord Howick was rejected by Northumberland, O'Connell by the Irish metropolis, and Sir De Lacy Evans by Westminster. The defeat of the Liberals was most signal in the English counties, which returned 136 Conservatives and only twenty-three supporters of the Government. They lost seven seats even in the boroughs; seven in Scotland, counterbalanced by a gain of only one; and ten in Ireland, with a gain of two. The total result of the contest was a Liberal majority of nine in Scotland and nineteen in Ireland, and a Conservative majority of 104 in England and Wales, leaving the Government in a minority of seventy-six. On the 15th of July, while the elections were still incomplete, Lord Melbourne reported to the Queen that the Conservatives would have a majority of seventy. 'I knew,' he said, 'at least I thought that it would be so.'

On the 19th of August, Parliament met; and on the motion of the Earl of Ripon, an amendment on the address in answer to the speech was carried against the Government, on the 24th of August, by a majority of seventy-two.

In the House of Commons an amendment to the address was moved (August 24) by Mr. Stuart Wortley, who had been returned for the West Riding of Yorkshire, proposing among other matters that the House should 'respectfully represent to Her Majesty the necessity that her Ministers should enjoy the confidence of the country, which the present Administration does not possess.' After a debate which lasted till Friday the 28th, the Government, in a House of 629 members, were defeated by a majority of 91, the votes for the address being 269, and for the amendment 360. On the evening of Monday the 30th, Lord Melbourne in the one House, and Lord John Russell in the other, intimated the resignation of the Ministry; and the Queen, in her reply to the address of the Commons, declared that she would take immediate measures for the formation of a new Administration.

It was the conviction at the time of some of the most enlightened and zealous Liberals, and the opinion is now universally entertained, that Lord Melbourne's Cabinet ought to have resigned long before they were compelled to take that step. The Premier himself evidently sympathized with this feeling, but he pleaded his unwillingness to blight the prospects of his followers as his apology for resigning office in 1839. 'I counted up more than 200 of my intimate acquaintances or their families who would have been half-ruined or heart-broken by my going out.' The excuse says more for his Lordship's disinterestedness and kindness of heart than for his regard for the public welfare, or even for his own political reputation.

The Whig Ministry, which, with the exception of Sir Robert Peel's brief Administration in 1834–35, had managed the affairs of the nation since 1830, was thus

at length brought to a close. They had fallen into such disrepute during the last years of Lord Melbourne's premiership, that the great benefits they had conferred upon the country were for a time to some extent overlooked. But it should not be forgotten that under their sway the representation of the people had been placed on a sound and popular basis; the blot of slavery effaced from the British empire; the abuses of the Poor Law system, which threatened the ruin both of landed property and industry, swept away; the municipal corporations in the three kingdoms reformed; tithes commuted both in England and Ireland; the incessant disputes between the clergy and the Dissenters terminated by the registration of births, deaths, and marriages; provision made for the destitute poor in Ireland; the cheap postage system established; the savage criminal code ameliorated, and the punishment of death for numerous minor offences abolished; the union of the two Canadas effected; and the first solemn recognition made by the State of the great principle of national education in Ireland and in England, without violence to religious opinions. In addition to these measures, all of the most important kind, mention should be made of the East India Charter, the opening of the China trade, the reduction of the newspaper duty, the simplification of the Public Accounts, and the abolition of numerous taxes which pressed heavily on the working classes. All these and other important reforms were accomplished in the face of an unfriendly sovereign and a hostile House of Lords. And even with regard to their financial scheme, which failed to obtain the approval of the country and the Parliament, in no long time the memorable words with which Lord Palmerston concluded his powerful speech on Sir Robert Peel's motion proved true. 'I will venture to predict,' he said, 'that although our opponents may resist these measures to-night for the sake of obtaining a majority in the division, yet, if they should come into office, these are the measures which a just regard for the finances and commerce of the country will compel them themselves to propose.'

CHAPTER XVII.

State of affairs between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali—The policy of France in regard to Egypt—Desire of the five Powers to maintain the *status quo*—Views of the Sultan and the Pasha—The Battle of Nezib, and defeat of the Turks—Death of the Sultan—The Turkish fleet delivered up to Mehemet Ali—Lord Palmerston's proposals for peace—Crooked policy of the French Ministry—Alienation of Lord Palmerston—Offers of the Russian Czar—Their rejection by France—Schemes of M. Thiers—Action taken by the Pasha—Renewed proposals of the four Powers declined by the French Government and Mehemet Ali—Treaty signed by Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia—Mortification and anger of France—Coercive measures adopted by the four Powers—Fall of Acre—Settlement of the Turkish Question—Project of France to seize the Balearic Isles—State of trade with China—Opium smuggling—The traffic prohibited by the Chinese Government—Opium delivered up and destroyed—Position of Captain Elliot, the British Superintendent—Neglect of the Government to give him instructions—His Support of the Opium smugglers—Prohibition of trade with Britain—Commencement of hostilities between the British and the Chinese—Unjustifiable conduct of the Superintendent—Debate on the Chinese question in the House of Commons—Progress of hostilities—Capture of Chusan—Treaty made by Captain Elliot—Disallowed by the Government—Renewal of hostilities—Captain Elliot superseded—Appointment of Sir Henry Pottinger—His vigorous proceedings—The Chinese sue for peace—Terms of the Peace—Compensation paid to the Opium smugglers—Real character of the war.

WHILE the Melbourne Ministry were struggling for existence in the face of a powerful and aggressive Opposition, they were involved in a series of difficult and complicated negotiations, respecting the relations between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali, which had nearly led to a European war. The arrangement made at Kutaieh, which left Egypt and Syria under the government of Mehemet Ali as the vassal of the Sultan, had secured a truce between the two that was manifestly not likely to be permanent. 'More than once during the six years that it continued,' says Guizot, 'this peace was menaced by both parties. The Pasha and the Sultan had both the wish to break it; the Pasha from a desire of independence, the Sultan from hopes of regaining the territory he had lost.' The treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, which Russia had extorted from the Porte in the day of its extremity, made the Czar the formal protector of Turkey, and laid open to him the passage of the Bosphorus, which it had so long been the policy of the Porte to keep shut to the fleets of the North. To counteract the influence which Russia had thus obtained at Constantinople, France and England had deemed it necessary to maintain a large fleet in the Mediterranean, stationed near the Dardanelles. Mehemet Ali, on his part, was obliged to seek foreign protection in order to enable him to assert his independence against Russia and the Porte, and France was the quarter to which he naturally turned for assistance. His army was trained by French officers; his fleet was formed and commanded by a Frenchman; his physician, a most influential person in every Eastern country, was a native of France. A portion of the French press eulogized his administration, and advocated the necessity of protecting it for the sake of French interests. The traditional policy of France led that country, under every form of government, to aspire either to the possession or the protectorship of Egypt. Louis XIV. had formed some project of this kind. Prince Potemkin proposed to the French ambassador, M. de Segur, to seize Egypt while Russia took possession of Constantinople; and Napoleon attempted to carry that scheme into effect. The position to which Mehemet Ali had attained, and the success which had so far attended his ambitious schemes, revived among the French politicians the old ideas with respect to Egypt; and they began to think that through an alliance with the Pasha they might obtain powerful if not preponderating influence in the Mediterranean. In this way they imagined that France might be at Alexandria what Russia then was at Constantinople. Thus the

whole Mediterranean coast, from Alexandria to Constantinople, would in time become subject to France and Russia. An alliance between these two Powers on this very basis had been projected and proposed by Napoleon, and had since been repeatedly entertained by French statesmen, with the view of bringing under their control the road to our Indian dominions. It was a policy, as Lord Dalling remarks, natural to France, if France was the enemy of England; but it was a policy impossible for France if there was to be a sincere alliance and friendship between the two countries, because the mistress of India cannot permit France to be mistress, directly or indirectly, of the road to her Indian dominions.

The French Government did not wish to quarrel with England, nor yet to relinquish the notion which had become to a certain extent national with France. The other European Governments were anxious, for very different reasons, to keep the peace between the Sultan and his powerful vassal. They saw that if Ibrahim defeated the Turkish army, and obtained possession of Constantinople, Russia would at once interfere in terms of the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi; and the last thing Britain, France, and Austria wished to see, was the establishment of Russia as the protector of Turkey. They were reluctant to prevent this by force, and it was not easy to do so by arrangement. They were therefore desirous to keep matters in their existing state. They told Sultan Mahmoud that they would not allow Mehemet Ali to cross the Syrian boundary if he was not attacked by the Turkish army, which had established itself on the right bank of the Euphrates; and they informed Mehemet Ali that he would incur the displeasure of all the European powers if he attempted to cross the line of his present boundary.

The European powers, and especially France, were anxious for the reasons mentioned to maintain matters in their existing position. But those who had an opportunity of forming on the spot a careful and unbiassed opinion, were convinced that 'the *status quo* would be the ruin of all parties—of Mehemet Ali and that portion of the empire he governed, of the Sultan, and of that portion of the empire he ruled.' The Sultan himself entertained the same opinion. 'The *status quo*,' as Lord Dalling remarked, 'was not only the surrender of a large portion of the empire from his authority; it was the destruction of the prestige by which he held the rest.' He continued therefore to augment the army, which he had stationed on the Syrian frontier in such a position as to threaten Ibrahim Pacha's communications. In spite of the earnest remonstrances of the European powers, the Sultan at length determined to make an effort to expel his formidable vassal from Syria; and on the 9th of June, 1839, he ordered his general, Hafiz Pacha, to advance against Ibrahim's forces. On the 24th a great battle was fought at Nezib, which terminated in the complete overthrow of the Turkish army; and their camp, guns, and stores fell into the hands of the victorious Egyptian commander. Five days later the Sultan died at Constantinople; and it was strongly suspected that he had been murdered by some of the officials of his court. Almost immediately after this event Achmet-Pasha, the Turkish Grand Admiral, went off with the fleet, and delivered it up to Mehemet Ali at Alexandria.

In this desperate extremity, army and fleet both lost, with a boy of sixteen years of age upon the throne, Turkey was apparently on the eve of dissolution. The new Vizier, Khozrew Pasha, sent with all speed a letter to Mehemet Ali, offering him the hereditary succession of Egypt on condition that he would consent to remain a faithful vassal of the Porte. But Mehemet refused to enter into negotiations, except on the understanding that he was to be secured in the permanent possession of Syria as well as of Egypt. The five

Powers, however, were not inclined to look on with indifference while the Turkish empire was thus dismembered. Their ambassadors at Constantinople at once prepared a joint note, in which they pledged themselves to protect the young Sultan, and recommended his Ministers to accept no terms offered by the Egyptian Pasha without their concurrence.

Lord Palmerston had always been of opinion that the most effectual mode of getting rid of the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi was to merge it in a more extensive agreement; and the other Powers, Russia included, concurred in the proposal of the British Minister. He was of opinion that decisive measures should at once be taken to bring about an amicable arrangement between the Sultan and his vassal, and that recourse should be had to coercion should negotiations fail to secure this end. France was bound in honour to co-operate in these measures; and Marshal Soult, who had just been appointed Prime Minister in place of M. Molé, readily agreed in principle to everything that Palmerston suggested. 'Soult is a jewel,' wrote the British Foreign Minister to Lord Granville, our Minister at Paris; 'nothing can be more satisfactory than his course with regard to us, and the union of England and France upon these Turkish affairs will embolden Metternich and save Europe.' Lord Palmerston, however, speedily found that though Soult was quite willing to talk about an agreement, and to express his cordial approval of united action, he would do nothing. He expressed an apparent acquiescence in Lord Palmerston's proposals; but he would not take the slightest step to coerce Mehemet Ali either to restore the Turkish fleet or to enforce any arrangement which the five Powers might agree to lay before the two parties. 'Nothing could be more miserable,' Lord Palmerston said, 'than the shifts and changes in the opinions and schemes of the French Government; and it is evident that they have wishes and objects at bottom which they are ashamed of confessing—that, in short, their great and only aim is to do as much as they possibly can for Mehemet Ali, without caring a pin for the Sultan, or having the least regard for their declarations and pledges.' The object of the French Government in short was to support, by every means in their power, the demands of the Pasha, with the hope that through him they might establish paramount and permanent influence in Egypt. With regard to Louis Philippe himself, Lord Granville — our representative at the French Court—said, 'The King does not want to quarrel with us; but neither does he want to quarrel with the French press and the French Chambers. He has fixed no greedy eyes on Egypt; but he does not want to quarrel with those who have.' This was no doubt true; but Palmerston remarked in reply, 'I can't enter into motives, I must look to acts; and if a reputed friend will not act as a friend, I must consider he is not one.'

The insincere and selfish policy of the French Government at length had the effect of alienating the British Foreign Secretary, and inducing him to adopt a new line of policy. Since France would not support the measures which he had proposed, he resolved to try to induce the other four Powers to unite with him in demanding that Mehemet Ali should restore the Turkish fleet; and in the event of his refusal, that the allied fleets should blockade the coasts of Egypt and Syria, and seize Candia. The Russian Czar eagerly caught at a proposal which would have the effect of separating Britain from France. There had for some years been a coldness between the Russian Government and our own. The refusal to receive Sir Stratford Canning as ambassador; the occupation of Poland, and the shocking cruelties inflicted on the Polish patriots; the underhand signature of the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi; the seizure of the *Vixen*, a British merchant vessel, by the Russian authorities on the coast of Circassia; and the intrigues at Herat and Cabul—had greatly strengthened the un-

friendly feeling in Great Britain against the Russian court, and even threatened to bring about a hostile collision. Nicholas was anxious to remove this unfavourable impression; and he immediately sent Baron de Brunnow to London, to inform the British Government that he was willing to agree entirely to their views respecting Turkey and Egypt, and was ready to join in whatever measures might be necessary to carry these views into effect; that he would unite with Britain, Austria, and Prussia, either with or without France; and that, though politically speaking he saw the advantage of having the co-operation of France, he would prefer to dispense with her assistance. Brunnow was instructed to propose that if Ibrahim should advance with his army on Constantinople, Russia should march her forces to the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus in order to protect the Turkish capital; and to promise that if Britain and Russia should come to an agreement for the protection and defence of Turkey, the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi would not be renewed, and that in time of peace both the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles should be closed to the ships of war of every Power.

The proposals of the Russian Cabinet were at once communicated to General Sebastiani, the French ambassador in London. That astute diplomatist saw clearly that the evasions and finessing of his court had completely failed, and that the wisest course for France to pursue was to connect herself more closely with England, and to make an arrangement on the most favourable terms he could obtain. He therefore proposed, on his own responsibility, that Syria should be divided by a line drawn east and west from Beyrout to Damascus, that all the country to the south of that line should be allotted to the Pasha, and that all to the north should belong to the Sultan. The French Ministers, however, at this juncture, sent off in all haste a different proposition, which they were well aware would be rejected, and proposed that Mehemet Ali should be made hereditary ruler of Egypt and Syria, with the exception of the outlying district of Adana, and that Candia should be given to him for life. Soult was particularly indignant at the proposition, that if Constantinople were threatened, a Russian force should advance to the Bosphorus. 'If a Russian fleet,' he said, 'arrive on the Bosphorus, a French fleet shall appear there also.' In order to conciliate the French Government, the Czar was induced by Palmerston to agree that, in the event of a Russian fleet entering the Bosphorus, a British and French fleet should simultaneously enter the Dardanelles.

This concession obviated all the professed objections of the French Ministry; and Soult was compelled to admit that Russia had removed 'the great obstacle to the satisfactory solution of the Eastern question.' He and his colleagues praised the decision of Russia, acknowledged its importance and the good faith it evinced, and declared that they had no predilection in favour of Mehemet Ali; but added that all they demanded for him was such conditions as he would be willing to accept, as there existed no means of forcing him to comply with any others. So strong, however, was the desire of the other Powers, and especially of Britain, not to separate from the French Government, that in order if possible to bring the two Cabinets together Lord Palmerston proposed that the Pashalic of Acre, but without the fortress, should be added to the hereditary grant of Egypt. This proposition, however, was declared by the French Ministers to be inadmissible on the same grounds as the original one—that it was certain to be rejected by the Pasha.

At this juncture Soult resigned his office, and M. Thiers was appointed President of the Council, while Guizot had shortly before replaced Sebastiani as Minister at London. This change of Ministry afforded France an opportunity of retreating from the untenable position which she had assumed. But

the new Prime Minister was vain, ambitious, and unscrupulous, and was not possessed of the moral courage, even if he had cherished the desire, to resist the popular feeling in Paris and the Chambers in favour of a union between France and Egypt. Soult, indeed, had placed him in a situation from which in fact there was no safe and scarcely any creditable escape. He could not venture to propose that the whole of Syria should be permanently annexed to Mehemet Ali's pashalic; he therefore resolved, as he said, to 'temporize,' and had recourse to the same sort of evasions and subterfuges as had characterized the policy of his predecessor. Palmerston was induced, by the Austrian and Prussian ambassadors, to offer the southern half of Syria to Mehemet on condition of his abandoning the remainder to the Sultan; but nothing would content the ambitious and grasping Pasha except the whole, and his demand was, as usual, supported by the French Ministry. At this crisis a Ministerial revolution took place at Constantinople through an intrigue of the old fanatical party, headed by Valide the Sultan's mother, and aided by Egyptian gold. Old Khozrew the Seraskier, Mehemet Ali's bitter enemy, was ejected from his office, and Valide's party became influential in the Divan. The Pasha dexterously availed himself of the opportunity to open direct negotiations with the Sultan, with the hope of inducing him to consent to an arrangement which would have brought great discredit on the allies and injury to their interests, especially to those of Great Britain. Lord Palmerston believed that this step was taken at the instigation of the French Ministry; and though this was denied, Thiers was undoubtedly made aware of the attempt, and despatched with all haste a special messenger to Egypt, with instructions to follow it up till it was completed, but insisting that information as to what was going on should not be communicated to the British Ministry. The British and Russian Governments had by this time been induced, by the intercession of Austria, to offer to concede not only the pashalic, but the fortress of Acre, which was regarded as the key to Syria; but France would make no concessions for the common good. She would not listen to the proposition in question, unless the pashalic and fortress were to be hereditary. The French Ministers were asked whether, if the whole of Syria were conferred on Mehemet for life, they would make common cause with the other Governments; but even to this question they could receive no definite answer.

M. Guizot had foreseen from the first what would be the result of this temporizing, shifty, double-dealing policy; and had pointed out to the French Cabinet that the time was most opportune for them to propose some judicious and practicable arrangement; but warned them that the British and other Powers, though 'preferring an arrangement with France,' and offering various concessions in order to attain that end, seeing that 'nothing positive arrived from the French Ministry,' and that 'all difficulties were made impossibilities,' would some day take a sudden resolution of acting without France, and carry through by themselves the policy they had settled. This event, which M. Guizot 'had foreseen with sagacity and stated with moderation,' at last took place. The four Powers, finding that the policy of France was not regulated by a regard to the interests of Europe, but by a selfish interest of her own, to which she tenaciously clung in spite of all their remonstrances and concessions and warnings, determined to settle the question by themselves; and on the 15th of July, 1840, their representatives signed a treaty with the Turkish ambassador, setting forth the terms which were to be granted to Mehemet, and pledging the four Powers to use force, if necessary, to carry them into effect. The Pasha was informed that he should receive the hereditary sovereignty of Egypt and the pashalic of Acre for life,

provided that he agreed within ten days to accept these terms; but that if he refused to do so, the offer would be modified and his rule limited to Egypt alone.

The French Ministry were very angry on learning that, without their knowledge, a treaty had at last been signed by the four Powers. M. Thiers spoke very indignantly about the insult offered to France, and threatened war. A great European question, he said, had been settled without her and in spite of her; the position of Mehemet Ali was now a secondary affair; French honour was a primary one, and France when prepared should demand, and if necessary, insist in arms on some satisfaction. But Lord Palmerston expressed his conviction that the French Government, and especially the King, would be too wise and prudent to resort to hostilities in support of Mehemet Ali's demands. Thiers, however, despatched Count Walewski to Alexandria to obtain from the Pasha some concessions which they might submit to the other Powers as the basis of a new treaty to be negotiated through the mediation of France. Mehemet declared that although he would yield nothing to the other Powers, he would, out of friendship to the French, resign the two districts of Adana and Maratch, together with Candia, and accept the sovereignty of Syria for life. But the allied Powers having bound themselves by treaty to carry out the arrangement which France had admitted to be the best, were resolved to go through with it at all hazards. 'The fact is,' said Lord Palmerston, 'that when four Powers make a treaty, they intend to execute it; and as we made our whole extent of possible concession to France before the treaty, by offering to let Mehemet keep St. Jean d'Acre, there is nothing more left that we can consider. If the four Powers were to give way to the menaces of France, they would soon be compelled to go to war with her to resist her further encroachments, or they must be prepared to submit patiently to a succession of aggressions and insults. But as far as we are concerned, we should be disgraced as a Ministry, and our country would be dishonoured by our means.' In fact, it was soon after avowed by M. Remusat, one of the French Ministers, that France in protecting Mehemet Ali meant to establish a new second-rate maritime power in the Mediterranean, whose fleet might unite with that of France for the purpose of serving as a counterpoise to the English fleet. It was the being baffled in this scheme when it seemed on the eve of being accomplished, that excited the fierce anger of the French Ministry and journalists, which was all the more intense and ungovernable because its real cause could not be avowed.

As Mehemet peremptorily refused to accept the terms offered him by the allied Powers, a joint British, Austrian, and Turkish squadron blockaded the coasts of Syria and Egypt. Beyrout was bombarded by the fleet on the 10th of September, and on the 26th of that month Saida, the ancient Sidon, was stormed and taken by a body of troops under the command of Commodore Napier. Ibrahim experienced a serious defeat on the 10th of October; and on the 3rd of November the British fleet advanced to the attack of St. Jean d'Acre, a fortress which had arrested Napoleon's career of victory in the East after the conquest of Egypt. It was so vigorously defended by the Turkish garrison, assisted by a British detachment under Sir Sydney Smith, that after spending nearly two months before it, and delivering five unsuccessful assaults, he was forced to raise the siege. It cost Ibrahim six months time and a large expenditure of life to wrest it from the Turks in 1831. Soult declared in 1839 that 'there was no Power in Europe capable of taking St. Jean d'Acre.' But in three hours its fortifications were battered to pieces by the British cannon, and it was captured with a loss of only twelve men killed and forty-two wounded. The fall of this renowned fortress produced the strongest impression throughout Europe,

and especially in France, where it had been deemed impregnable; and as its capture pierced Ibrahim's communications with Egypt, he was compelled to evacuate Syria with all possible speed, and Mehemet had now no alternative but to accept the terms imposed upon him by the allies. The Porte, with equal arrogance and folly, had shortly before this decreed the Pasha's deposition; but the British Government adopted a wiser and more moderate course, and recommended the youthful Sultan and his Ministers to withdraw this decree of dismissal, and to leave Mehemet in possession of the hereditary pashalic of Egypt, if he made his submission in due time.

The speedy and signal overthrow of Mehemet's forces in Syria brought matters to an extremity between Louis Philippe and his ambitious Minister. M. Thiers was unwilling to lose his popularity; the sovereign did not choose to risk his crown. The struggle terminated in the overthrow of the Ministry. Thiers declared to the British envoy, 'The king is much more warlike than I am;' but Louis Philippe said to him, 'M. Thiers is furious with me because I would not make war. He says, I talked of making war; but talking of making war and making war Mr. Bulwer, are two things very different.' It did not seem to have occurred to the astute, but not high-principled monarch, that to threaten a course of action which there is no real intention to undertake, is not a very honest or dignified proceeding.

M. Thiers, finding that he had completely outmanœuvred and outwitted himself in his intrigues respecting the Eastern question, sought to recover his popularity by means of a singular project, which, as Lord Dalling remarked, betokened that restless desire to do something when it cannot do the thing it wants, which has often characterized the French Government. The British envoy learned that a French fleet was collected at Toulon for the purpose of seizing the Balearic Islands which belonged to Spain, partly as a protest against English action or supposed action in the affairs of the Spanish Peninsula, and partly because if a war in the Mediterranean should eventually take place, it would be of great importance to have these islands, with reference to their connection with Algeria, in their power. The seizure of islands belonging to Spain, because Mehemet Ali was driven out of Syria, seemed to be a proceeding which had so little connection with its cause, that the correctness of the information conveyed to Mr. Bulwer was very naturally called in question; but all doubt on the subject was dispelled by the explicit statement of M. Joubert, who was a member of M. Thiers' Cabinet at the time. Shortly after, however, M. Thiers went out of office, and was succeeded by Soult, with Guizot as his Foreign Minister, in consequence, as he erroneously alleged, of an intrigue for his dismissal. The truth is, that a mutual dissatisfaction had grown up between him and Guizot after the signature of the secret treaty by the four Powers in London. Thiers directly accused Guizot of having been duped and deceived. Guizot, on the other hand, declared justly that Thiers had been deaf to his reiterated and urgent warnings that if France did not come to the views of the British Ministry, they would infallibly go on with the four Powers and without France. But as soon as Louis Philippe determined on peace instead of war, the retirement of Thiers followed as a matter of course. The new French Cabinet were fully alive to the importance of the British alliance, and laboured to preserve it. After a brief interval they resumed co-operation with the allies in the ultimate arrangements respecting Egypt, and in the treaty by which Turkey consented in time of peace to close the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles to the ships of war of all Powers. The clamours of the war party afforded the King and his Ministers a plausible excuse for pressing on the fortifications of Paris, which had previously been very unpopular among the

citizens; and money was now voted for that purpose by the Chamber, which under Soult's former administration had been refused by a large majority.

The success of Lord Palmerston's Eastern policy, and the renown acquired by the British seamen at the capture of Acre, obtained great applause at the time, and contributed for a little to sustain Lord Melbourne's feeble administration; but the soundness of the policy, even in the midst of the popular enthusiasm which it elicited, was questioned by some shrewd and far-seeing statesmen, and subsequent events have produced a general conviction that the attempt to bolster up the decaying and barbarous rule of the Turks in Europe was a mistake.

When the monopoly of the East India Company came to an end in 1834, and their right even of trading with China was abolished, the authorities at Canton were informed that a royal officer would be sent out to superintend the British trade. The Chinese, however, expected that the only chief who would be appointed would be a commercial superintendent, and that, as heretofore, he would communicate with their officers by petition, and through the established medium of the Hong-Kong merchants. The British Government, however, appointed three superintendents, who were also to act as political agents. Lord Napier, a captain in the royal navy, was the first superintendent; Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Davis was the second; and Sir George Robinson the third. The Chinese, who knew nothing of the real nature of these appointments, were in a state of great excitement when their arrival was announced, in terms of Lord Napier's instructions, by letter to the viceroy (15th July, 1834). Every effort his lordship made to establish a direct official communication with the Chinese authorities at Canton completely failed; and worn out with his exertions and anxieties, he died at Macao on the 11th of October, 1834.

Matters proceeded for some time smoothly under the charge of Sir George Robinson (Mr. Davis having returned to England), and he sent home agreeable accounts of a quiet and prosperous routine of trade, 'due to his perfectly quiescent line of policy.' But for some reason or another, which was never avowed, his office was abolished about the close of 1836; and Captain Elliot, R.N., who had been first, secretary to the Commission and then superintendent, assumed the title of chief commissioner, and renewed the attempt to establish an official connection with the Chinese, but failed as completely as Lord Napier had done.

The opening of the Chinese trade in 1834 gave an immediate stimulus to all kinds of smuggling, and especially in the article of opium. The importation of this drug into China had always been illegal, but had been connived at by the Chinese authorities. The imperial Government, however, had long desired to put a stop to the opium trade, partly there is reason to believe because the use of this drug was most injurious to the people, partly because it was supposed that the constant and increasing drain which it caused of the silver currency seriously affected the national revenue. They therefore determined now to enforce with the utmost rigour the laws against the importation of opium. Captain Elliot had repeatedly warned the Government that the enormous increase of the contraband traffic in opium would compel the Chinese Government to adopt some violent measures against the importers of this contraband article, who had the audacity to carry the prohibited drug up the Canton rivers in their own boats. As the *Colonial Gazette* pointed out, it was as if—the growth of tobacco being prohibited in the British islands—the merchants of France should steal into our county of Kent, establish tobacco-growing, sell the produce freely among our people, and fix an agent at Dover to superintend the affair.

In March, 1839, an imperial commis-

sioner, named Lin, was sent to Canton furnished with instructions and summary powers to abolish the opium traffic. He immediately issued an edict enjoining the foreigners to deliver up to him the whole of the opium on board the ships in the river, in order that it might be destroyed; and at the same time requiring that bonds should be given by the traders that their ships would never again bring any opium, on pain of forfeiture of the goods and death to the importer. In order to enforce this edict the British factories were blockaded by boats on the river and by soldiers in front and rear. The servants were called out, and provisions were not allowed to enter. In these circumstances Captain Elliot proceeded to Canton, where he found the British community in a state of great excitement and distress. Seeing no alternative, he issued a circular letter to the merchants, requiring them to surrender the whole opium on the coast into his hands, in order that he might deliver it to the Chinese authorities, and holding himself responsible for all consequences. On the 21st of May, the whole of the opium, to the amount of 20,283 chests, was given up to the commissioner, and was immediately destroyed. The blockade then terminated, and all the British residents who had been imprisoned at Canton were allowed to depart, with the exception of sixteen individuals; but they were ultimately permitted to leave with injunctions never to return. The Chinese authorities, however, were still not satisfied, for on the 26th of November Commissioner Lin issued an edict ordering the cessation of all trade with British ships after the 6th of December; and in January, 1840, this was followed by an imperial edict directing all trade with Britain to cease for ever.

Meanwhile Captain Elliot had repeatedly written home, warning the Government that matters were in a critical state, and requesting instructions; but no attention was paid to his entreaties. He had the semblance of authority, without any power to suppress the illicit traffic or to enforce his orders on the British merchants, who persisted in carrying on the opium trade in direct violation of the laws of the country. The Government were certainly very much to blame in neglecting to give to their superintendent powers which were essential to the discharge of his duties—powers, which by the Act of Parliament they were fully entitled to confer upon him, and which, if they had been intrusted to him, might have materially contributed to arrest the calamitous result of a war between the two countries. Captain Elliot's most pressing and anxious letters were received by the Government on the 17th of July, 1837; but it was not until the 2nd of November that the Foreign Secretary sent a reply, which after all conveyed no instructions or guidance to the anxious and harassed superintendent. Seven months elapsed before Lord Palmerston sent a second despatch, intimating that the Ministry had at last come to a decision on the subject. 'With respect to the smuggling trade in opium,' it said, 'I have to state that Her Majesty's Government cannot interfere for the purpose of enabling British subjects to violate the laws of the country to which they trade. Any loss, therefore, which such persons may suffer in consequence of the more effectual execution of the Chinese laws on this subject, must be borne by the parties who have brought that loss on themselves by their own acts.'

If this just and proper intimation had been sent at an earlier period, it might have prevented all the mischief that now ensued; but unfortunately before its arrival Captain Elliot had taken the side of the opium smugglers, and he disregarded the whole spirit and purpose of the instructions which he now received. He wrote to Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India, setting forth that the Chinese Government had adopted a 'course of violation and spoliation which had broken up the foundations of this great trade, as far as Canton is concerned, perhaps for

ever;' and requesting that as many ships of war and armed vessels as could be spared from India should be despatched to China to defend the lives and property of the British merchants.

This step no doubt exasperated the Chinese authorities, and made them more determined to adhere to their resolution to abolish the opium traffic. In the month of August, 1839, an affray took place at Macao between some English sailors and Chinese villagers, in which one of the latter unfortunately lost his life. Commissioner Lin immediately demanded that the British sailor who had killed the Chinaman should be given up; and on Captain Elliot's refusal to comply with this demand, Lin issued an edict prohibiting any provisions or other articles being supplied to the British at Macao. The *Black Joke*, a British schooner, while on her passage from Macao to Hong-Kong was attacked by a fleet of Chinese junks and boarded; several of the Lascars, who manned the vessel, were cut down and thrown overboard, and Mr. Moss, a young Englishman who happened to be on board, was most barbarously maltreated. Luckily another schooner came up at this critical moment, and the assailants fled in their boats. Captain Elliot, in these circumstances, left Macao for Hong-Kong on the 23rd of August, and invited all the British merchants who wished to leave that place to accompany him.

About the end of the year Lin issued an edict against the importation of any British goods; prohibiting the transhipment of them into any other foreign vessel for the purpose of being conveyed into Canton, under the penalty of confiscation of the ship and cargo should any British goods be discovered on board. In these circumstances Captain Elliot stooped to petition Lin for the restoration of the trade with Canton in accordance with the laws of both countries, until he could receive instructions from home; but his petition was contemptuously rejected by the Commissioner, who declared that, until the person who killed the Chinaman in August was given up, no intercourse could be allowed between the two nations. However, Lin so far relented as to allow trade to be carried on in the meantime below Bocca Tigris, at the mouth of the Canton river; and he was willing to permit vessels to go up the Canton, if the captains would sign a bond agreeing that any person guilty of smuggling opium should be punished according to the laws of China—in other words, should be liable to capital punishment at the discretion of the Chinese mandarins. Captain Elliot, as might have been expected, returned a peremptory refusal to comply with this demand.

At this juncture a Mr. Warner, master of a ship called the *Thomas Coutts*, signed the bond to the great annoyance of the British merchants, and in direct violation of the orders of the superintendent. His compliance delighted the Chinese Commissioner, who immediately caused his ship to be carried up to Whampoa, and insisted that all British vessels should enter only on the same terms as the *Thomas Coutts*, or depart within three days. The superintendent believed that the Chinese also intended to attack the British frigates, the *Volage* and the *Hyacinth*, which were stationed in the river. A fleet of twenty-nine sail of war junks and five vessels anchored close to the British ships on the 3rd of November, and the demand for the delivery of the English sailor was peremptorily renewed. It was, of course, rejected; and as the Chinese refused to return to their former anchorage, the frigates poured in a destructive fire upon them and destroyed a number of the war junks with considerable loss of life. They seem to have consoled themselves with the notion that the British must have suffered equal loss in the encounter, in consequence of the frigates having retreated to Macao to protect the merchant ships there, and to cover the embarkation of the British residents.

The war having thus begun, the British Government judged it difficult to put a stop to it without producing an impression on the minds of the Chinese which would have led to future collisions. On grounds of political expediency, therefore, but in flagrant violation of the plainest laws of morality, they sanctioned the continuance of hostilities with a people who had done us no wrong, and had merely exercised their undoubted right to forbid the importation of a pernicious drug that was eating into the vitals of their national prosperity. The Chinese authorities no doubt, after the quarrel began, conducted matters with a high hand, and were guilty of various indefensible acts; but the British merchants were the aggressors, and should have been left to reap what they had sown. The opium traffic deserved no protection, and the opium smugglers ought to have been informed by the Government from the first that they would receive none. But the British superintendent, on the contrary, identified himself with the traders, and had recourse to arms in their behalf; and the Ministry, who had left him for many months without instructions or adequate authority to restrain and punish the opium smugglers, came to the conclusion that it was necessary to carry on the war which he had commenced.

The great majority of the British nation had a very imperfect and indeed erroneous idea of the Chinese character, and knew very little of the real nature of the points at issue. The matter was taken up in the House of Commons, but more as a party question, which afforded an opportunity of assailing the Government, than as a subject to be discussed fairly and impartially on its merits. The motion of censure, which was moved by Sir James Graham, pronounced no condemnation on the opium trade, or of the conduct of the traders who persisted in forcing the importation of that drug into China in flagrant violation of the laws of that country, and in direct opposition to the wishes and efforts of the Chinese authorities. It merely set forth that 'the interruption in our commercial and friendly intercourse with that country, and the hostilities which have since taken place, are mainly to be attributed to the want of foresight and precaution on the part of Her Majesty's present advisers in respect to our relations with China, and especially to their neglect to furnish the superintendent at Canton with powers and instructions calculated to provide against the growing evils connected with the contraband traffic in opium, and adapted to the novel and difficult situation in which the superintendent was placed.' The defence of the Government, though intrusted to Macaulay, Charles Buller, Lushington, Hobhouse, and Palmerston, was exceedingly lame, and was more like an apology than a vindication; and the Opposition speakers, especially Follett, Sydney Herbert, Gladstone, and Peel, had by much the best of the argument. After a debate, which lasted three nights, the Ministry, notwithstanding all their efforts, were only able to command a majority of nine—Graham's motion being supported by 262 votes against 271.

Meanwhile the Ministry had despatched to China a fleet of eight ships of war, with two steamers and a number of transports, under the command of Admiral Elliot, to carry on the hostilities which Captain Elliot had so needlessly and rashly commenced. The Chinese, on their part, were said to have sent a boat-load of poisoned tea to be sold to the British sailors; but it had been captured by some Chinese pirates, who sold the cargo to their own countrymen, many of whom died in consequence of partaking of the poisoned article of food. They were also alleged to have poisoned the wells. It is certain that they made many attempts to burn the ships of their assailants by means of fire-rafts, which entirely failed. With a simplicity which is at once ludicrous and pathetic, they offered a reward of 20,000 Spanish dollars for the capture of an English man-of-war carrying eighty great guns; 5000 dollars for taking

alive a foreign 'mandarin,' or chief officer of a man-of-war, and a corresponding reward for taking prisoner officers of inferior rank; and for 'killing foreign mandarins or officers, substantial evidence being produced of the same, one-third of the proportioned reward for taking such alive shall be awarded.' Fishermen and other seafaring people are called on to go out and destroy foreign vessels; and whilst thus engaged, are promised that their families will be housed, clothed, and fed in the public offices and at the public expense. The proof required of the destruction of a ship was the board with her name; the production of the head of an Englishman was sufficient evidence that he had been killed; and on either of these being delivered to any district magistrate the bearer would be entitled to the promised reward. 'Honours, rewards, and happiness will be the lot of him who kills an Englishman.' 'It is no longer possible,' said the Emperor, 'to bear with the English; gods and men are indignant at their conduct.'

The Chinese authorities displayed great activity and energy in their preparations to defend their country against the attacks of the British forces, and the people fought with indomitable courage; but they never had a chance of success. The island of Chusan, which lies about midway on the east coast of China proper, was the first conquest of the invaders. On the 4th of July, a British fleet anchored in Chusan harbour; and a summons was sent to the Chinese admiral, who was also governor of the group of Chusan islands, calling upon him to surrender the island. This official, who was entirely taken by surprise, immediately went on board the *Wellesley*, the flag ship, accompanied by two mandarins. He admitted that he was quite unprepared for resistance, but endeavoured by various devices and evasions to gain time. He was made aware, however, that if he was not prepared to give up the island before daybreak next morning, it would be taken from him by force. In the morning a large body of troops were seen drawn up on the shore, and on the walls of Ting-haen, the chief city, distant about a mile from the beach. Several war junks had also been brought to assist in repelling the invaders. The British troops landed in two divisions under cover of the broadsides from their ships of war, which speedily silenced the fire of the batteries and junks. They took possession of a hill about 1500 yards distant from Ting-haen, which they cannonaded during the whole day and up to midnight, receiving in return a fire from the walls of the city, which, however, did them little or no injury. During the night the assailants placed ten guns within 400 yards of the fortifications. At daybreak the flags were seen flying from the walls as they were on the preceding evening; but as no person was visible, and no sound was heard, the British sent forward a reconnoitring party, who discovered that the city had been evacuated. Only two or three unarmed Chinamen were left, who hung a placard over the wall, on which was inscribed, 'Save us for the sake of our wives and children.'* The possession of Chusan proved disastrous to our troops. The climate was unhealthy, provisions were scarce and bad, and the soldiers drank so freely of a spirit distilled from rice, that they became mutinous and sick; and in a short time, out of 3650 men, only 2035 were fit for duty.

Admiral Elliot, who arrived at Chusan on the same day on which it was taken, sailed northwards on the 9th of August with a part of the squadron, accompanied by Captain Elliot; and on reaching the bay, into which the Peho or river of Pekin flows, the superintendent went up the river with the boats of all the men-of-war manned and armed, and after six days' delay was informed that the Emperor

* H. B. made use of this incident during the discussion on the Bedchamber question, representing the Melbourne Ministry in a fort about to be stormed by the Conservatives, led by Wellington and Peel, hanging out a placard, 'Spare us for the sake of our women.'

required time to consider what answer should be given. The squadron availed themselves of the opportunity to lay in supplies of provisions and water. On their return to the anchorage Captain Elliot obtained an interview with Keshen, the Imperial Commissioner, the third man in the empire. Negotiations, which commenced on the 30th of August, were protracted until the 15th of September; and then, by some unaccountable means, the admiral was induced to transfer the scene of the negotiations from the vicinity of the capital to Canton, a distant spot, where it had hitherto been found impossible to come to any definite conclusion. The Emperor, however, had meanwhile superseded Lin, and ordered an inquiry to be made into his conduct, and Keshen was appointed in his room. Keshen's object was to protract the negotiations as long as possible, in order to provide defences for the Canton river. Besides levying troops, he caused new batteries to be erected at the Bogue, boats laden with stones to be sunk at the bars, and breastworks to be thrown up near the city. Captain Elliot's patience was at length exhausted by Keshen's interminable delays. As the British admiral had resigned and returned home on the ground of illness, the task of compelling the Chinese to submit to our demands was intrusted to Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer. He opened his fire upon the Bogue forts on the 7th of January, 1841, and speedily took two of them. Next morning, when he was preparing to attack the principal fort, a flag of truce arrived, along with a promise from Keshen to adjust matters without further delay. Upon the 20th of January, Captain Elliot issued a circular announcing that the preliminaries of a treaty had been agreed to by the Chinese commissioner, in which it was stipulated that the island of Hong-Kong, situated at the mouth of the bay of Canton, was to be ceded to Britain instead of Chusan, which was to be restored to China; that the Chinese Government should pay 6,000,000 dollars (£1,250,000) as compensation to the British merchants; that the trade should be resumed within ten days; and that there should be direct official communication between the two Governments on equal terms.

The terms of the treaty were disapproved by the Ministry; and general surprise was expressed that it contained no mention whatever of the opium traffic, the sole cause of the war. Lord John Russell announced in the House of Commons that the treaty was to be disallowed, Captain Elliot recalled, and Sir Henry Pottinger appointed in his stead. Meanwhile, however, Sir Gordon Bremer, taking it for granted that the treaty was to be fulfilled, had sent orders to the British troops to evacuate Chusan; and he took formal possession, in the name of the Queen, of the island of Hong-Kong.

Hostilities were, however, renewed on the 19th of February, in consequence of a shot having been fired from one of the islands at the boat of the *Nemesis* steamer. The British vessels went up the river again on the 26th. One detachment made themselves master of the island of Wantag in the course of a few minutes, without the loss of a single man. Another attacked and captured the strong fort of Anunghoy, with only five men slightly wounded, though the Chinese lost a considerable number of men, including their admiral, Kwan, and several other mandarins of high rank. On the 27th the light squadron proceeded up the river; and though the left bank was strongly fortified, and a number of vessels had been sunk in the channel, they forced a passage, and silenced the batteries in the course of an hour, while a detachment of marines landed and stormed the works of the fort in spite of a brave and determined resistance on the part of the defenders, of whom 300 were killed. Next day the advanced squadron pushed forward, and for the first time the British ships were visible from the walls of Canton. Sir G. Bremer and Major-General Gough, who now arrived and assumed the command of the land

forces, were preparing to attack the remaining defences of the city, when the Prefect, accompanied by the Hong-Kong merchants, came down and informed the British commanders that Keshen had been degraded; and that, as his successor had not yet arrived, there were no officials in Canton empowered to treat with them. The naval and military commanders wished to settle the matter at once, and to compel the surrender of the city; but Captain Elliot requested them to wait until it should be seen how the provincial authorities at Canton were disposed to act. Sir Gordon Bremer, in his despatch, expressed his apprehension that this forbearance would be misunderstood; and so it proved. A flag of truce was fired on upon the 17th of March; and in retaliation next day the forts which protected the city were carried in succession, the Chinese flotilla was destroyed, and the Union-jack was hoisted on the walls of the British factory at Canton. It was then discovered that Keshen had delayed the execution of the treaty which he had concluded with Captain Elliot, until it should receive the sanction of the Imperial Government; but that it had been rejected by the Emperor, who had resolved on war. Sir Gordon Bremer immediately started for Calcutta to obtain reinforcements, and Admiral Senhouse assumed the command in China. In the meantime a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon between Captain Elliot and the Imperial Commissioner, Yang, which was to continue until advices came from the court at Pekin.

Although the trade was partially reopened during six weeks, large bodies of Tartar troops continued to arrive at Canton, and the British commanders were satisfied that the Chinese intended to renew hostilities at the first favourable moment. They resolved, therefore, to renew the attack on the city on the 24th of May; and after a sharp conflict, in which the British troops had fifteen killed and 112 wounded, Canton lay completely in their power. Sir Hugh Gough was about to make an assault on a strong fortified height of considerable extent within the city walls, when Captain Elliot requested him to suspend hostilities while another treaty was negotiated. The British general made no secret of his dissatisfaction with this countermand, by which he said the 'feelings' of the Chinese were spared. 'He would have been responsible that Canton should be equally spared, with the exception of its defences, and that not a soldier should have entered the town further than the fortified heights within its walls.'

The terms agreed on between Captain Elliot and the Chinese authorities were, that the Imperial Commissioner and all the troops were to quit the city within six days, and remove to a distance of sixty miles; that 6,000,000 dollars were to be paid down within a week; the British troops to remain in their present position until the whole amount was paid, and then, along with the ships, to withdraw to Bocca Tigris; the losses occasioned by the destruction of the factories and the burning of the Spanish brig *Bilbaino* to be repaid within a week.

Admiral Senhouse died on the 14th of June of fever, brought on by his great labours and exposure to the sun; aggravated, it is alleged, by disappointment and mortification at the mismanagement of affairs. Four days later Sir Gordon Bremer returned from Calcutta, and his appointment as joint-superintendent was announced to the Chinese. But on the 9th of August Sir Henry Pottinger arrived, and took the entire charge into his own hands. On the 24th the two displaced superintendents sailed for Bombay.

Sir Henry Pottinger at once expressed his determination to bring the war to a speedy close, and on the 12th of August he sent a messenger to the Governor of Canton, assuring him that the existing truce would be observed as long as the Chinese should not arm their forts or impede the regular trade which had been re-established, or molest the merchants residing in the factories. He then proceeded northwards on the 21st, having with him 3500 soldiers

under Major-General Gough, and a fleet, consisting of two 74-gunships, seven other ships of war, and a number of transports and other vessels, under the command of Sir William Parker. Amoy was taken on the 27th, with 500 guns and large quantities of arms and public stores, and a garrison was left on an island in the harbour. Chusan and its chief city was next taken, after a spirited defence. On the 13th of October the large city of Ningpo, fifteen miles inland, fell undefended into the hands of the invaders, and became their head-quarters during the winter. These successes so alarmed the court of Pekin, that they issued an edict urging the extermination of the British, and ordering vigorous preparations to be made for the defence of the country. The courage of the Chinese seemed to have revived during the winter, and in March a large body of them scaled the walls of Ningpo and made an attempt to recover that city. They were allowed without hindrance to crowd the market-place, and then the British opened fire upon them with murderous effect. In the month of May the invaders took the city of Chapor. Woosang was taken on the 16th of June, and Shanghai on the 19th. On the 21st of July the city of Chin-kiang was stormed, after a gallant defence and a frightful loss of life on the part of the inhabitants. The Chinese, indeed, helpless as they were, fought with the most desperate courage; and when beaten, in many instances could not bear to survive their defeat. When the mandarin who was second in command in Amoy saw that all was lost, he rushed into the sea and drowned himself; and another destroyed himself, like Saul the Israelitish king, on the battle-field. On the capture of another city the Tartar general went into his house and made his servants set fire to the building, and calmly sat on his chair until he was burned to death. 'When they found they could no longer stand against us,' wrote one of the British officers, 'they cut the throats of their wives and children, or drove them into wells and ponds, and then destroyed themselves. In many houses there were from eight to twelve dead bodies, and I myself saw a dozen women and children drowning themselves in a small pond the day after the fight.' Even the common soldiers, fresh from the battle-field, could not behold unmoved the spectacle of the Chinese destroying themselves and their wives and children, rather than allow them to fall into the hands of those hated foreigners.

At length, the appearance of the British army before Nankin on the 12th of August, 1842, compelled the Chinese to sue for peace on any terms we chose to grant them; and on the 26th a treaty was finally concluded between the British plenipotentiary and three Chinese commissioners.

The most important provisions of the treaty were, authority to the British merchants to trade freely at the ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-choo-foo, Ningpo, and Shanghai, and to establish consuls there; the cession of the island of Hong-Kong in perpetuity to Her Britannic Majesty and her successors; the establishment of regular and just tariffs of import and export, and of inland transit duties; correspondence to be conducted on terms of perfect equality between the officers of the two governments; and the sum of 21,000,000 dollars (£4,375,000) to be paid by the Chinese to the British by instalments, in addition to the 6,000,000 dollars already paid by the authorities at Canton as compensation for the opium destroyed. The Emperor signified his assent to this treaty on the 8th of September, and on the 31st of December it was ratified by the British Government.

The war was declared in Parliament to have been 'just, necessary, and honourable;' and on the motion of the Duke of Wellington in the Lords, and of Lord Stanley in the Commons, the thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to the fleet and army that had been engaged in these operations. But it is impossible for any right-thinking person to reflect on the origin,

progress, and result of the war, without mingled feelings of shame and indignation.

The last stage of this discreditable business was a squabble between the Conservative Government and the Canton merchants who had been engaged in this contraband trade. The traders pleaded that, on the requisition of Captain Elliot they gave up the opium, as he said, for Her Majesty's service, and on his express assurance that they should be repaid the value of it; and this value they estimated at the invoice price, with the addition of 17½ per cent. for interest and other charges. Sir Robert Peel, however, as the representative of the Government, took his stand on Lord Palmerston's declaration in 1838, that any loss which the opium smugglers might suffer in carrying on this illegal traffic, in consequence of the more effectual execution of the laws against it, must be borne by the parties who have brought that loss on themselves by their own acts. The merchants declared, that taking the price of opium at the lowest during the season when it was seized, the value of the 20,283 chests was £2,042,000; but the Government could not be induced to give them more than 6,000,000 dollars, or £1,250,000, which had been paid under the treaty as compensation for the opium that had been destroyed by the Chinese.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Position and importance of Afghanistan—Character of the Afghans—Ahmed Shah—Character and career of Dost Mahomed—Russian intrigues—Siege of Herat by the Persian Shah—Mission of Captain Burnes to Cabul—Gallant conduct of Lieutenant Pottinger—The siege of Herat raised—Dishonesty of the Russian Ministers—Policy of Lord Auckland regarding Afghanistan—Disapproval of the policy of Captain Burnes—Garbling of his despatches—Treaty to expel Dost Mahomed and restore Shah Soojah—Invasion of Cabul—Capture of Candahar and Ghuznee—Flight of Dost Mahomed—Shah Soojah's reception at Cabul—Last Struggles of the Ameer—His Surrender—Critical state of affairs at Cabul—General Elphinstone—Delusion of the British authorities—Outbreak at Cabul—Murder of Sir Alexander Burnes—Progress of the Insurrection—Loss of the Commissariat Fort—Negotiations with the Afghans—Arrival of Mahomed Akbar Khan—Renewal of the negotiations—Murder of Sir William Macnaghton—Depression of the Garrison—Incapacity of the authorities—The Capitulation—Retreat from Cabul—State of the Troops—Passage of the Koord-Cabul Pass—Sufferings of the Force—Jugdulluck—Negotiations with Akbar Khan—The Ladies and married Officers intrusted to him—General Elphinstone and other two officers seized—Massacre at Gundamuck—Sale's Brigade—March to Jellalabad—Skirmishes with the Afghans—The occupation of Jellalabad—State of the Defences—Successful sallies—Siege of the Town—Bad news—Arrival of Dr Bryden—Earthquake—Battle of the 7th of April—Fall of Colonel Dennie—Arrival of Pollock's army—Its advance to Cabul—Rescue of Lady Sale and the other prisoners—Flight of Akbar Khan—Destruction of Cabul—Evacuation of Afghanistan.

THE war in Afghanistan, which was undertaken during the closing year of Lord Melbourne's administration, was a much more serious affair than the hostilities with China. At this time the north-western frontier of our possessions in India was an extensive sandy desert, extending from the jungles of the hill-states of Gurhwal to the sea. Beyond this desert region lay the Punjaub, with its five great rivers, of which Runjeet Singh, the 'Old Lion of Lahore,' was the ruler. Beyond the Punjaub, farther to the west, lies Afghanistan—a country which from time immemorial has served as the great highway from western to eastern Asia. Lying directly between Persia and the Punjaub, it has been traversed by all the invaders that ever penetrated to India from the Mediterranean, the Black, and the Caspian Seas. 'An old Indian proverb runs that he alone can be Emperor of Hindostan who is first Lord of Cabul. Alexander of Macedon had to fight his way through, capturing Herat as he went, ere he met and defeated Porus, discoursed with the sacred Gymnosophistæ, and founded a city in honour of his steed, Bucephalus, on the shores of the Hydaspes. Timour Bec Mahmoud, the founder of the Mahometan dynasty in India, Nadir, and Baber, all conducted their mighty hordes to India by the same route. It was and is the key to India from the north-west.'

The ruling race in this region are the Afghans, Mahometans of the Shunite sect, though Hindoos, and even Persians of the heretical and obnoxious Mahometan sect of the Shiites, have been allowed to settle in the country, and even to attain power and influence. There are few towns in Afghanistan, and the region is sparsely peopled. The Afghans are a race of hardy mountaineers, brave, strong, active, independent, but turbulent, passionate, and vindictive. Their feuds are numerous and interminable; revenge is regarded as a sacred duty, and they may be said to live in a state of chronic warfare. They are excellent horsemen, and are early trained to the use of arms. Like the Scottish Highlanders of former days, whom in many respects they closely resemble, they have a great contempt for trade, and indeed for most peaceful pursuits; and like the Celtic clansmen, they are generous and hospitable to strangers, and even to their enemies, who are safe beneath an Afghan roof. The country had been parcelled out by Ahmed Shah, the founder of the Afghan empire, among the various military chiefs, who held their lands by the tenure that for every plough in

cultivation they should furnish a horseman for the public service, though this proportion between the ploughs and the horsemen seems afterwards not to have been strictly observed.

Ahmed Shah was a sagacious and energetic ruler, who united courage and activity with high military talents. He established his authority over the extensive region which stretches from Herat on the west, and Sirhind on the east, and from the Oxus and Cashmere on the north, to the Arabian Sea and the mouths of the Indus on the south. He repeatedly invaded Hindostan; and in the memorable battle of Paniput, fought in 1761, he inflicted a decisive defeat on the Mahratta power. He died in 1773, and was succeeded by his son, Timour Shah, on whose death in 1792 his dominions were divided between his two sons, Homayon and Zemaun Shah. War soon broke out between the two brothers, and the elder being defeated, the whole kingdom acknowledged the authority of Zemaun Shah. He was in turn overthrown and deprived of his sight, in 1800, by his brother Mahmoud. Three years later Mahmoud was expelled by his brother, Shah Soojah, but the latter was ultimately driven by him out of the country, and found refuge in the British territory. In the course of events Mahmoud also was deprived of his kingdom. The descendants of the illustrious Ahmed Shah were thus dispossessed of the throne of Afghanistan. The principality of Herat was the only part of their great inheritance which still remained with them.

The government of the country was now in the hands of the chiefs of a powerful tribe, the Barukzyes, the most influential of whom was Dost Mahomed, one of the youngest of the twenty brothers of the celebrated Barukzye Sirdar Futteh Khan, who brought about the first downfall of Shah Soojah, and reigned in his stead as the vizier of his feeble successor, Shah Mahmoud. Dost Mahomed soon became conspicuous in consequence of the energy and courage with which he took vengeance for the death of his brother, the powerful vizier, who was cruelly murdered by his perfidious master, Shah Mahmoud. After a series of sanguinary wars and revolutions, Afghanistan was divided among the Barukzye brothers, and Dost Mahomed was eventually, in 1826, firmly seated on the throne of Cabul. A great change now took place in his character. During his infancy he had been totally neglected, and his youth was stained with many crimes and excesses; but he was handsome and graceful in his person, with a prepossessing countenance and a bold frank manner. He had shown that, in an eminent degree, he possessed courage and resolution, combined with unusual sagacity and great influence over his family and tribe. As soon as he became undisputed ruler of Cabul, he set himself industriously to acquire the requisite qualifications for his high and responsible position. He exerted himself zealously to repair the deficiencies of his neglected education. He learned to read and write; he studied the Koran; he gave up the use of wine and strong drink; he made a public acknowledgment of contrition for the past, and performed the *Toba*, which is a solemn and sacred promise of reformation in reference to every accustomed moral crime or habit of depravity. He became at the same time plain in his attire, assiduous in his attention to business, affable in his manner, and courteous to all persons of every degree. He took means to secure that order should be maintained in his dominions, and that justice should be done without respect of persons. The humblest peasant who had a complaint to make had access to the presence of his ruler, and an attentive consideration of his grievance. So widely known was his determination to administer impartial justice, and to give relief to the injured or distressed, that when any grievous wrong was not redressed, people said, 'Is Dost Mahomed dead that there is no justice?'

Dost Mahomed exercised vigorous authority over Cabul for twelve years, and

inflicted a severe defeat on Shah Soojah, who, with the assistance of Runjeet Singh, attempted to regain the kingdom he had lost. But in 1837 a new and unexpected source of trouble and anxiety arose. A British envoy arrived at his capital, and a Persian army laid siege to Herat on the Afghan frontier.

The fact cannot be denied that at this time the Russians had obtained a footing in Persia, and that the young Shah, though he had been seated peaceably on the Persian throne by the assistance of British officers and of British money, had lent himself to the promotion of Russian policy. The alliance between Russia and Persia seemed to threaten the security of our Indian empire, as it left only Cabul and the Punjaub between the Russian armies and our frontier. The apprehensions of our rulers were strengthened by the information which reached them in 1835, that the Shah was preparing to make war on Shah Kamran, the Prince of Herat, the last representative of the family of Ahmed Shah the founder of the Afghan empire, and thus to obtain a footing in the Cabul territory. They were also made aware that the Ministers of the Persian monarch made no secret of their intentions to claim supremacy also over Ghuznee and Candahar, which would have brought their rule almost to the frontier of the Punjaub, with Russian consular agents established in all the great towns.

There can be no reasonable doubt that, although the Shah had good cause for complaint against Shah Kamran, the expedition against Herat was instigated and supported by the Russian Government. They furnished both the sinews of war and the counsel; they despatched a general to direct its operations; they even allowed one or two of their regiments, under the guise of Polish deserters, to serve in the ranks of the invading army; they deputed an agent for the express purpose of thwarting the efforts of the British ambassador to bring about an accommodation between the besiegers and the besieged; and so eager was the Russian envoy for the reduction of Herat, that he even offered his own military services in the expedition.

Herat, as both our friends and foes well knew, is a place of primary importance for the protection of our Indian possessions. Its position at that point of the range of mountains bounding the whole of our northern frontier, where alone there are facilities for the transport of a train of heavy artillery, has obtained for the city the designation of the Gate of India. All the great roads leading on Indian territory converge within the limits of its territory; and it is by Herat alone that a fully-equipped army could make its way from the north-west upon our Indian frontier. The importance of its situation, said Sir Alexander Burnes, is very great, and it has always exercised considerable influence over the affairs of Central Asia; and a special Russian agent at Bokhara continually dwelt, he says, on the position of Herat being such that it was through it alone that the Emperor hoped to realize his wishes, for it was the entrepôt of Persia, India, Cabul, and Turkestan. Kohun Dil Khan, the ruler of Candahar, one of Dost Mahomed's brothers, cherished an intense hatred of Shah Kamran, the ruler of Herat, whom he regarded as the murderer of his elder brother, Futteh Khan. He and his other Candahar brothers hoped that the Persian army would overthrow Shah Kamran, and transfer the principality of Herat to themselves; and both the Persian monarch and the Russian agent strove to encourage them in this expectation, assuring the Sirdar that his serving the Shah would turn out every way to his advantage. Dost Mahomed, however, entirely disapproved of this movement, and warned his brothers that, in the event of their not attending to his advice, such circumstances would happen as would make them bite the finger of repentance.

At this stage Lord Auckland, who, as we have seen, had been appointed Governor-

General of India in 1835, when the Melbourne Ministry returned to office, received a congratulatory letter from Dost Mahomed, evidently intended to conciliate the British representative and to secure his friendship and protection. In his reply the Viceroy hinted that he should probably soon 'depute some gentleman' to the Ameer's court, to discuss with him certain commercial topics. The project of a commercial mission to Afghanistan had been previously suggested to Lord William Bentinck by Sir John Malcolm; and there is no reason to suppose that Lord Auckland, in carrying the proposal into effect, had any idea of employing it for any other than commercial purposes. He selected, as the commercial agent to be despatched to Cabul, a young Scotsman named Alexander Burnes, a member of the family from which Robert Burns the Scottish poet sprung, and who seems to have possessed no inconsiderable share of the talents, along with some of the most conspicuous failings, of his illustrious kinsman. Possessed of an eager and enterprising spirit, he had already acquired no small celebrity by his expedition to Central Asia, during the course of which he had travelled across the Punjaub to the Indus, and proceeded through Peshawur to Cabul, where he was cordially received by Dost Mahomed. He formed at that early period a highly favourable opinion of the Ameer, both as regarded his personal integrity and ability, and the vigour and justice of his government. From Cabul, Burnes journeyed over the Hindoo Coosh to Kindoosy, Balkh, and Bokhara, and thence passed westward to the Persian frontier, returning through Teheran, Ispahan, and Shiraz to Bushire, where he embarked for India. He was shortly after despatched to England to communicate to the Government the important information he had thus acquired. He returned to India in the spring of 1836, and in the following autumn was sent to the court of the Ameer of Scinde, on a mission which he performed with judgment and ability. He was next appointed to take charge of the 'commercial' mission to Afghanistan; and on the 26th of November he sailed from Bombay, to 'work out the policy of opening the river Indus to commerce.'

On his arrival at Cabul Burnes was received with the greatest cordiality by the Afghan chief; indeed, as he says, 'with great pomp and splendour.' Mr. Tucker, the Chairman of the Board of Directors, had declined when Burnes was in England to concur in his appointment to a commercial agency in Cabul, feeling, as he said, perfectly assured that it must soon degenerate into a political agency, and that we should, as a necessary consequence, be involved in all the entanglements of Afghan politics. So it proved. The notion of a commercial mission was soon laid aside, and Burnes, with all the ardour of his eager and impulsive temperament, plunged into the complications and intricacies of Afghan politics. At this time Russian agents were visiting Central Asia, and striving to gain over the native rulers to promote the insidious designs of their Government. One of them, an officer named Vicovich, came to Cabul about three months after the arrival of Burnes. He was secretly authorized to make the most splendid offers to the Ameer of money and assistance in his schemes; and he assured Dost that all the Afghan merchants should be well received in the capital of Russia, that justice and protection should be extended towards them, and that their intercourse would cause their respective states to flourish.

While the Russian and Persian envoys were contending for supremacy at Cabul, the Persian Shah was prosecuting the siege of Herat. That city was defended by a wet ditch and an earthen wall, with five gates, each protected by a small outwork. The citadel, which was constructed of brick masonry, with lofty ramparts and numerous towers, had at one time been a place of considerable strength; but its defences had been allowed to fall into a state of complete

disrepair, and the whole fortifications of the city were crumbling into decay. The besieging army was well supplied with artillery and other materials for the siege, and its operations were aided by the skill of Russian engineers. The Russian Minister, Count Simonich, advanced 50,000 tomauns to the Shah to encourage and assist him in carrying on the siege, and promised that if he took Herat the balance of the debt due by Persia to Russia should be remitted. So zealous, indeed, was the Count in promoting the enterprise, that he personally took the command of the Persian troops in the trenches, and a regiment of Russian deserters were allowed to take part in the siege. There can be no doubt that Herat would have fallen into the hands of Mahomed Shah, had it not been for the heroism of Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, a young British officer who happened to be in Herat when the Persian army sat down before it. 'The spirit of adventure,' says Sir John Kaye, 'was strong in Eldred Pottinger. It had brought him to the gates of Herat, and now it kept him there, eager to take a part in the coming struggle between the Heratees and their Persian invaders. And when the day of trial came, when the enemy were under the walls of the city, he threw himself into the contest not merely in the spirit of adventure, as a young soldier rejoicing in the opportunity afforded him of taking part in the stirring scenes of active warfare, but as one profoundly impressed with the conviction that his duty to his country called upon him, in such a crisis, to put forth all his energies in aid of those who were striving to arrest a movement threatening not only the independence of Herat, but the stability of the British Empire in the East.'

The siege lasted ten months; the defences crumbled to pieces under the fire of the Persian batteries, the old walls sliding into masses at every round; and numerous attempts were made to carry the city by storm, one of which, guided by the Russian Minister, Count Simonich, in person, had nearly been successful. The protracted siege inflicted the severest privations and sufferings on the wretched inhabitants, and the garrison were reduced to the greatest straits; but encouraged by the young English officer, they still resolutely held out against the assaults of the besiegers. It is possible, and indeed probable, that they might have been compelled to succumb in the end by the pressure of famine, had not the British Government actively interposed in their behalf. Two steamers and some vessels of war were depatched at this juncture from Bombay, with a small detachment of troops, to take possession of the island of Karrack in the Persian Gulf. The demonstration was in itself insignificant, but it served the purpose. The most exaggerated reports regarding the expedition reached the Persian army before Herat, and the camp was 'all alive with stories of the powerful British fleet that had sailed into the Gulf, had destroyed Bunder-Abbas and all the ports on the coast, taken Bushire and landed there a large army, which was advancing upon Shiraz, and had already taken divers towns in the province of Fars.' At this critical moment Mr. M'Neill, our Envoy in Persia (now Sir John M'Neill, G.C.B.), was making his way towards the frontier when intelligence of the Karrack expedition met him. About the same time he received letters from the Foreign Office instructing him what steps to take, in the event of the refusal of the Shah to desist from the siege of Herat. The Envoy immediately despatched Colonel Stoddart to the Persian camp to inform the Shah that 'the occupation of Herat, or of any part of Afghanistan by the Persians, would be considered in the light of a hostile demonstration against England; that already had a naval armament arrived in the Persian Gulf, and troops been landed on Karrack; and that if the Shah desired the British Government to suspend the measures in progress for the vindication of its honour, he must at once retire from Herat.' On receiving this message (11th August) the

Shah said, 'The fact is, if I don't leave Herat there will be war; is not that it?' 'It is war,' returned Stoddart; 'all depends upon your Majesty's answer.' After two days' consideration the Persian monarch said to Stoddart, 'We consent to the whole demands of the British Government. We will not go to war. Were it not for the sake of their friendship, we should not return from before Herat. Had we known that our coming here might risk the loss of their friendship, we certainly would not have come at all.' On the 9th of September, 1838, the Shah broke up his camp and commenced his retrograde march to his own country.

The failure of this enterprise was deeply mortifying both to the Persian monarch and to his advisers, the Russian Cabinet. It was notorious that Russia had prompted the Shah to undertake the siege of Herat, and had furnished both men and money to enable him to carry it to a successful issue; that Russian officers aided the operations of the siege, and that Russian gold had been distributed among the Persian troops; that, as it was said in a note presented by the British ambassador to the Russian Prime Minister, while the British envoy, Mr. M'Neill, 'was appealing to the prudence and the reason of the Shah, Count Simonich was exciting the ambition and inflaming the passions of that sovereign; whilst the one was preaching moderation and peace, the other was inciting to war and conquest; and whilst the one pointed out the difficulties and expense of the enterprise, the other inspired hopes of money and assistance.' No reasonable man could doubt that in thus encouraging and aiding the Persian Shah in his expedition against Herat—the Gate of India—the Russian Government had in view ulterior designs of some sort against the British possessions in Hindostan. Of course, now that the enterprise had failed, Russia was eager to disavow all connection with it. Nesselrode affirmed that 'not upon Russia can fall the reproach of having encouraged or suggested that fatal enterprise.' With their characteristic duplicity and falsehood, the Russian Ministry declared that Vicovich had been despatched to Cabul on a 'commercial mission;' that if he had treated of anything but commerce he had exceeded his instructions; and that Count Simonich had been instructed, not only to discourage Mahomed Shah from prosecuting the expedition against Herat, but to withdraw the Russian deserters' regiment which formed no insignificant portion of the invading army. Nesselrode was quite well aware that the British Government were fully cognisant of the real facts of the case; but the disavowal of the Russian agents served its purpose. When Vicovich, full of hope, as Sir John Kaye says, for he had discharged the duty intrusted to him with admirable address, returned to St. Petersburg, he was at once repudiated by the Russian Minister, who refused to see him, and sent him a message to the effect that Count Nesselrode 'knew no Captain Vicovich except an adventurer of that name, who, it was reported, had been lately engaged in some unauthorized intrigues at Cabul and Candahar.' Vicovich was aware of the recent expostulations of Great Britain and saw at once that he was to be sacrificed, and he blew out his brains.

The mission of Captain Burnes to Cabul proved a failure, but not owing to any fault either on his part or on that of the Ameer. Dost Mahomed was eager to secure the friendship of Britain; and Burnes, on his part, saw clearly that an alliance with the ruler of Cabul would contribute not a little to the safety and peace of our possessions in the East. The Candahar Sirdars, the brothers of Dost Mahomed, as we have seen, had thrown themselves into the arms of Persia and Russia. Burnes strove to detach them from this hostile alliance. 'I offered them,' he said, 'British protection *and cash* if they would recede, and if Persia attacked them. I have no authority to do so, but am I to stand by and see us ruined

at Candahar?' He therefore wrote to the Sirdar, Kohun Dil Khan, stating that if the Persian monarch threatened to attack him he would go at once to Candahar, accompanied by Dost Mahomed, and assist him by every means in his power, even to the extent of paying his troops.

Burnes was severely censured by Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, for thus exceeding his instructions; though the Viceroy subsequently with praiseworthy candour admitted that the highest authorities at home were of opinion, that the measure which had evoked the displeasure of his lordship was the very best that could have been adopted. On its repudiation by Lord Auckland, the Candahar chiefs threw themselves again into the Persian alliance, and entered into a formal treaty with the Shah under a Russian guarantee.

The attempt of Captain Burnes to secure the amity of Dost Mahomed was thwarted by the same inauspicious influence. He was instructed to inform the Ameer 'that neither he nor his brothers were to found hopes of receiving aid from the British Government.' But notwithstanding this discouragement, Dost Mahomed still expressed his eagerness to secure an alliance. 'Russia,' Burnes wrote to Mr. Macnaghton, 'has come forward with offers which are certainly substantial; Persia has been lavish in her promises; and Bokhara and other states have not been backward. Yet in all that has passed, or is daily transpiring, the chief of Cabul declares that he prefers the sympathy and friendly offices of the British to all these offers, however alluring they may seem, from Persia or from the Emperor.*

Dost Mahomed had been long exposed to the attacks of the crafty Sikh ruler, Runjeet Singh, who had availed himself of a favourable opportunity for his purpose to seize the important town of Peshawur, which properly belonged to Afghanistan. The Ameer naturally wished to obtain the restitution of this place; but Lord Auckland declined to support his claims, and recommended him to be content with such arrangements as Runjeet Singh might be inclined to enter into with Sultan Mahomed, the Ameer's brother. But it was well known that the Sultan was the bitter enemy of the ruler of Cabul; and as the latter alleged, 'with Sultan Mahomed at Peshawur he would not be safe for a day.' 'Peshawur,' he said, 'has been conquered by the Sikhs; it belongs to them; they may give it to whomsoever they please; if to Sultan Mahomed Khan, they place it in the hands of one who is bent on injuring me, and I cannot therefore acknowledge any degree of gratitude for your interference, or take upon myself to render services in return.' 'Sultan Mahomed Khan,' he added, 'has just sent an agent to the ex-King of Loodhianah (Shah Soojah) to offer his services to combine against me, and to secure my brothers at Candahar in support of this coalition.' 'What security,' he asked, 'am I to receive against a recurrence of such practices?' Burnes had none to offer. He was instructed to ask for everything, but to promise nothing in return, while at the same moment the Russian agent was promising everything that Dost Mahomed wanted. Captain Burnes, indeed, assured the Ameer that the British Government entertained the most friendly feelings towards him; but when some proof of this was asked, none was forthcoming. 'Our Government,' wrote Burnes, 'would do nothing; but the Secretary of the Russian

* This passage and every other in Burnes' official correspondence favourable to Dost Mahomed were cut out before publication, and his letters were so garbled as to make it appear that his sentiments were exactly the opposite of those which he really held and reported to the Government. The object of this infamous conduct was, of course, to justify the proceedings of the authorities in regard to the Ameer. In consequence of this glaring and deliberate falsification of official documents, 'the character of Dost Mahomed,' as Kaye says, 'has been lied away, the character of Burnes has been lied away. Both, by the mutilation of the correspondence of the latter, have been fearfully misrepresented; both have been set forth as doing what they did not, and omitting to do what they did.'

Legation came with the most direct offers of assistance and money; and as I had no power to counteract him by a similar offer, and got wigged for talking of it at a time when it would have been merely a dead letter to say Afghanistan is under our protection, I was obliged of course to give in.'

The British authorities both at home and in India had cherished a profound distrust of Dost Mahomed, and regarded him as a treacherous enemy who, notwithstanding his professions of amity, was in reality promoting the intrigues of Persia and Russia. Burnes believed that he was sincerely desirous to cultivate the friendship of Britain, as it was manifestly his interest to do; but his superiors were utterly incredulous on this point, and instructed him to treat the Ameer as an enemy, and they ended by making him an enemy. He could not abstain from connecting himself with any other state, as the British Government called upon him to do. It was not possible for him, with a due regard to his own safety, to hold himself aloof from all the Powers that were courting his alliance; and since the British Government treated him with contempt, and peremptorily refused to give him any support, he was driven to listen with some favour to the flattering propositions made to him by Persia and Russia, though there is no evidence that he ever took any active measures to promote their schemes, or to injure the British interests. Dost Mahomed, says Sir John Kaye, 'desired, in the first instance, the absolute possession of Peshawur on his own account. He subsequently consented to hold it conjointly with Sultan Mahomed, in vassalage to Runjeet Singh. Had the British Government endeavoured to effect an amicable arrangement between the Ameer and the Maharajah, there is no room to doubt that Dost Mahomed would have rejected all overtures from the westward, and proved to us a firm and faithful ally. But instead of this, we offered him nothing but our sympathy; and Dost Mahomed, with all respect to the British Government, looked for something more substantial than mere meaningless words.'

The Governor-General had now resolved to treat Dost Mahomed as an enemy, and to expel him from Cabul. Lord Auckland was at Simla, at a distance from his Council and surrounded by irresponsible advisers, when this fatal and most unjustifiable resolution was adopted. The Viceroy was regarded as a calm, sensible, honest man, of respectable talents, but wanting in decision of character, and prone to yield his assent to the counsels of men rash, adventurous, and less single-minded and sagacious than himself. It is generally understood that Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Macnaghton, Chief Secretary to the Government, Mr. Henry Torrens the Assistant-Secretary, and Mr. John Colvin, Lord Auckland's private secretary — all three ardent, impulsive, and ambitious young men —were mainly instrumental in persuading the Governor-General to enter upon an intrigue most perilous in itself, and quite unlike the character of the cautious and peace-loving statesman.

It was at first proposed that an alliance should be formed between Runjeet Singh and Shah Soojah, the exiled ruler of Cabul, guaranteed by the British Government for the expulsion of Dost Mahomed and the restoration of Shah Soojah to his throne. A joint expedition into Afghanistan was to be undertaken by the two principal parties to the treaty; and the British Government, keeping in the back ground, was to furnish the necessary funds. But under the influence of Torrens and Colvin, who remained at Simla with Lord Auckland while Macnaghton was negotiating the tripartite treaty at Lahore and Loodhianah, the scheme gradually expanded, and it was at length determined to send a British army to depose Dost Mahomed and place Shah Soojah on the throne of Cabul.

The project of sending a strong body of troops into Afghanistan to repel the Persia-

Russian invasion had been under consideration when Herat was invested and in danger of falling into the hands of Shah Mahomed. But every valid pretext for the advance of our army beyond the Indus had been removed by the retreat of the Persian army from Herat. The scheme, however, was not laid aside. The British authorities in India, supported, it is alleged, by the Home Government, and especially by Sir John Hobhouse, President of the Board of Control, resolved to undertake the desperate experiment of obtaining a faithful ally, or rather a subservient tool in Afghanistan, by expelling an able and successful ruler to whose authority the people were accustomed and obedient, if not attached, and of placing in his seat the feeble, luckless representative of the old dynasty, who had been living in exile in our dominions for nearly thirty years. The sole, ostensible object of the expedition was to substitute a monarch who had been tried and rejected by the Afghans, for a chief who had shown his fitness to rule by his having maintained himself in security and his country in peace. In the words of the proclamation issued on the 8th of November, 1838, intimating the raising of the siege of Herat, the Government of India would 'still continue to prosecute with vigour the measures which have been announced, with a view to the substitution of a friendly for a hostile power in the eastern provinces of Afghanistan, and to the establishment of a permanent barrier against schemes of aggression upon our north-west frontier.'

Even if this scheme had been certain of success, it would have been both impolitic and uujust; but the probability of failure greatly preponderated over the chances of success. The policy of intervention for the purpose of restoring a deposed and expelled sovereign had been repeatedly tried, and had always sooner or later signally failed. As might have been foreseen, the restoration of a monarch by foreign arms made him odious to his own subjects, and thus destroyed his usefulness as an ally. All the older and more sagacious Indian politicians, such as the Duke of Wellington, Lord Wellesley, and Sir Charles Metcalfe, were of opinion that the contemplated expedition to Cabul, though it might be attended at the outset with delusive success, would terminate with disaster and disgrace. Mr. St. George Tucker, the Chairman of the Court of Directors, expressed in the most decided terms his opposition to the policy now adopted by the Viceroy; and the Court of Directors themselves, in a despatch dated 20th September, 1839, warned the Governor-General to have no political connection with any state or party in those regions; to take no part in their quarrels; but to maintain so far as possible a friendly connection with all of them.' And the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the very highest of all authorities on Indian matters, in a letter to Captain Burnes expressed his entire concurrence in the opinion that the proposed expedition was unwise and unsafe.

'You will guess,' he says, 'what I think of affairs in Cabul. You remember when I used to dispute with you against having even an agent in Cabul; and now we have assumed the protection of the state as much as if it were one of the subsidiary allies in India. If you send 27,000 men up the Durra-i-Bolan to Candahar (as we hear is intended) and can feed them, I have no doubt you will take Candahar and Cabul and set up Soojah; but for maintaining him in a poor, cold, strong and remote country, among a turbulent people like the Afghans, I own it seems to me hopeless. If you succeed, I fear you will weaken the position against Russia. The Afghans were neutral, and would have received your aid against invaders; they will now be disaffected, and glad to join any invader to drive you out. I never knew a close alliance between a civilized and an uncivilized state, that did not end in mutual hatred in three years. If the restraint of a close connection with us were not enough to make us unpopular, the connection with Runjeet, and our

guarantee of his conquests, must make us detested.'

In a short space of time these predictions of Mr. Elphinstone were fulfilled to the very letter. But Lord Auckland had now intrusted himself entirely to the guidance of his rash and adventurous advisers; and encouraged by the cordial approval of Sir John Hobhouse, to whom, indeed, he was mainly indebted for his appointment to the office of Governor-General, he persisted in carrying out the scheme of intervention.

All requisite preparations for the expedition having been made, the famous Simla Manifesto was issued (October 1, 1838), setting forth elaborately and at full length, for the information of the world in general and the countries of the East in particular, the reasons why the Honourable East India Company deemed it necessary to depose the present ruler of Cabul, and restore to the throne of his ancestors Shah Soojah, 'whose popularity throughout Afghanistan had been proved to the Governor-General by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities.' The principal reasons alleged in this document to justify the expedition were, that Herat was besieged by a Persian army; that Dost Mahomed had made an uprovoked attack upon our ancient ally, Runjeet Singh; that relying on Persian encouragement, he had urged the most unreasonable pretensions upon the Maharajah; that he avowed schemes of aggrandisement and ambition injurious to the security and peace of the frontiers of India; and that he had given his undisguised support to the Persian designs in Afghanistan—all of them either greatly exaggerated or unfounded. An army of 10,000 men, composed of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, had been assembled in Bengal for the enterprise, and another corps, consisting of 6000 troops, was gathering in Bombay, under Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane. Shah Soojah was also enrolling wandering Belooches, Sikhs, and men of every tribe under his standard, in order that, for the sake of his dignity, he might have an army of his own to aid him in asserting his rights. About 8000 men, tolerably well armed but altogether undisciplined, had been got together and placed nominally under the command of the eldest son of the Shah, Prince Timour; but they were, in point of fact, under the charge of Colonel Simpson of the 19th Native Infantry. Though ostensibly declared to be Shah Soojah's troops, the whole cost and care of paying, feeding, and transporting this mongrel force devolved upon British agents and the British treasury. Mr. Macnaghton was appointed envoy and minister on the part of the Government of India at the court of Shah Soojah-oot-Moolk; and Sir Alex. Burnes, who had been recalled from the court of Dost Mahomed, and knighted for his services, though his advice was rejected, was to be employed under Mr. Macnaghton's direction as 'Envoy to the Chief of Kelat or other States.'

At this critical juncture the Governor-General received authentic intelligence that the siege of Herat had been raised. There no longer remained, therefore, any valid or plausible excuse for an expedition across the Indus, and it was generally expected that the army assembling on the north-western frontier would be broken up. Unfortunately, Lord Auckland's irresponsible advisers urged him to persevere in their unprincipled and unwise policy; and the Viceroy, distrusting his own judgment, most imprudently yielded to their representations. It was not deemed requisite, however, to send forward the whole force, now that the siege of Herat was abandoned, as 'a part only would be equal to effecting the future objects in view.' Instead of two divisions, one only (consisting of 9,500 men, with 38,000 camp followers) was to be sent; and as Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief, declined to take the command of the reduced force, it was placed under the charge of Sir John Keane, Commander-in-Chief at Bombay.

Advancing with a detachment from his own Presidency, Sir John met the Bengal

column in Upper Scinde, and thence led the united army up the Bolan Pass to Candahar. The Bengal column threaded their way through this perilous defile, sixty miles in length, in six days, no enemy having resisted their march, though abundant indications had been given of the unfriendly feelings of the natives; and they were followed by the Bombay force and the Shah's contingent. The hostile disposition of the natives began to make itself more manifest every day. Nobody brought supplies, and all the efforts of the officials failed to procure them. The troops had to be put on half rations, and the cavalry and artillery horses suffered severely for the want of forage. On the 26th of April they reached Candahar, the ancient capital of the Douranee empire, which, much to their surprise, was surrendered to them without a shot being fired. Shah Soojah caused himself to be proclaimed there, and met with a welcome which seemed to justify the belief that he still retained some hold on the affections of his countrymen. But it was 'the last gleam of popularity that shone upon the poor puppet king, whom the Afghans even then began to say, that the British carried about with them like a corpse in a coffin.'

After staying two months at Candahar for rest and refreshment, of which both men and horses stood greatly in need, Sir John Keane on the 27th of June began his march upon Cabul. Right in the way, however, stood the fortress of Ghuznee, where two of Dost Mahomed's sons commanded, and which was defended by a strong garrison. A battery train had been brought up with great labour and at great expense to Candahar; and now that it was about to be required, Sir John Keane, with unaccountable infatuation, left it at Candahar. Ghuznee was a place of great strength. The Afghans regarded it as impregnable; and the first sight of the fortress as it burst suddenly on the view of the invading army, satisfied the officers that it could not be taken by the light guns which they had brought with them. A deserter, however, from the Ghuznee garrison, Abdool Reshid Khan, a nephew of Dost Mahomed, gave important information respecting the fortifications, and Major Thomson, the chief engineer, resolved to blow open one of the gates with gunpowder. The requisite preparations were made, and three hours after midnight everything was ready for the assault. In order to divert the attention of the garrison, the guns began to play upon the fortifications, and called forth a responsive fire from the crowd of Afghan soldiers who manned the walls. Under cover of the noise of the cannonade the powder bags were arranged without observation and exploded. The gate was blown open, along with part of the wall, and the storming party, commanded by the gallant Colonel Dennie, rushed in, and after a brief but severe struggle the fortress was captured, with a loss of only seventeen killed and sixty-five wounded; but of these last eighteen were officers. The carnage among the garrison was very great, but the number who fell in the struggle could not be accurately ascertained: 1600 were taken prisoners, among whom was a brother of Dost Mahomed. Immense stores of provisions fell into the hands of the victors, and a large and most acceptable stock of horses and other beasts of burden. It was justly remarked by Mr. Gleig, that it was well for the reputation of the General and the safety of the army that the desperate throw proved successful; for there was not a gun within reach wherewith to batter, and long ere the train could be brought up from Candahar, the failure of supplies must have occasioned the dissolution of a force on which, by open attack, all the armed men in the province could have made no impression.

The British soldiers conducted themselves with great moderation and propriety towards the inhabitants of the captured city, as well as towards the garrison, when resistance was over. But they were greatly shocked at the conduct of Shah Soojah, who caused

fifty prisoners—Ghazees—to be put to death in cold blood.

The moral effect of the capture of Ghuznee on the minds of the Afghans was quite decisive. As soon as the intelligence of this event reached them, they regarded the cause of the Ameer as hopeless, and hastened to give in their submission to the triumphant Shah Soojah. Dost Mahomed, though astounded at the fall of his chief fortress, which he ascribed to treachery, was determined to continue the struggle; but his people would not stand by him. He parked his guns and drew up his troops at Urghundeh, intending to have made his last stand at Maidan on the Cabul river, which afforded great natural advantages for opposing the invading army; but he speedily became aware that he could place no reliance, either on the venal Kuzzilbashes who were in his pay, or on the Afghan chiefs, some of the most trusted of whom had already, indeed, gone over to the enemy. He made a last appeal to his followers, with the Koran in his hand, in the names of God and the Prophet, to fight like true men for their country and their religion; but he met with no response. Turning away from the traitors and cowards by whom he was surrounded, he commenced a retreat (August 2), accompanied by a small body of followers, towards the Hindoo Coosh.

On the following day the tidings of the Dost's flight reached the British army, and Captain Outram, along with a few other volunteers, at the head of 500 Afghan horsemen and British cavalry, were despatched in pursuit. But Hadjee Khan Khaukar, a renegade Afghan chief who knew the country well, was sent along with them as their guide. He contrived so artfully to interpose delays, that the Ameer was not overtaken; and he managed with his sick son, Akbar Khan, to pass the frontiers and to penetrate into the recesses of the mountains.*

* Hadjee Khan, whose desertion of the Dost was peculiarly base and heartless, was punished for his double treachery, by being confined as a State prisoner at Chunar.

On the 7th of August Shah Soojah, escorted by his British protectors, entered the capital of Afghanistan. But he was not cheered by the slightest semblance of homage or congratulation from the inhabitants. As he rode through the streets of Cabul to the Balla Hissar on a white horse, his gorgeous regal apparel sparkling with jewels, the people looked with curiosity on the pageant, but—

'No man cried God save him;
No joyful tongue gave him his welcome home.'

It was more like a funeral procession, it was said, than the entry of a king into the capital of his restored dominions. The Shah himself, however, does not seem to have noticed or regretted the absence of popular enthusiasm; and the British commander and officers, though they could not but observe the coldness with which their protege was received by the people of Cabul, apparently did not regard it with any apprehension. Thus far everything had apparently gone well. The Douranee monarchy was restored, Dost Mahomed was a fugitive, and Shah Soojah-ool Moolk sat on the throne of his ancestors. Macnaghton evidently believed that the work was done. The Bengal corps, consisting of three brigades of infantry, with the 2nd regiment of Light Cavalry and Artillery in proportion, were left to occupy Afghanistan, and the remainder of the invading force, under Sir John Keane and Sir Thomas Wiltshire, returned in two divisions to Hindoostan. The Home Government and the people, who were very imperfectly acquainted with the merits of the case, were delighted with the result; and the general unpopularity of the Melbourne administration was to some extent, for a brief space, redeemed by the *éclat* of the campaign. Honours were showered down upon the organizers and leaders of the enterprise. Lord Auckland was advanced two steps in the peerage, and was created an Earl. Sir John Keane was made Baron Keane of Ghuznee. Mr. Macnaghton received a baronetcy and Colonel Wade a

knighthood; and lesser honours were bestowed in abundance on the subordinate officers, to whom indeed the success of the enterprise was mainly due.

The troops left to keep the country in military occupation amounted to about 20,000 men, of whom the Shah's contingent were estimated at 13,000, and a corps of Sikhs at 3500. They were distributed among the principal strongholds—Cabul, Ghuznee, Jellalabad, Candahar, and Khelat-i-Ghilzee. But it soon became evident that the contest was not at an end. The Ghilzies rose in arms. Dost Mahomed raised his standard in Kohistan, and was joined at once by a large body of adherents. He was defeated, however, after a smart action, at a place called Sygken, and was forced to retreat into Bokhara, where the Khan treated him after the usual fashion, with blandishments first, and then with imprisonment, which would have terminated in his murder if he had not contrived to make his escape. After a series of romantic adventures, he reappeared in Afghanistan at the head of a considerable force. The tidings of the Ameer's escape from Bokhara (July, 1840) were followed by reports respecting the rising of the Belooches, disturbances on the Bameean frontier, hostile movements in Candahar, and ominous indications of an unfriendly temper among the Sikhs—all indicating that the army of occupation was encamped upon a volcano. On the 6th of September it was ascertained that Dost Mahomed was advancing upon Bameean; on the 18th he suddenly attacked the British forces under Colonel Dennie, but was defeated with the loss of his tents, baggage, and standards. He speedily recovered, however, from this reverse; and on the 2nd of November, 1840, he encountered the British forces at Purwandurrah. The 2nd Bengal Cavalry being threatened by about 200 of Dost Mahomed's horse, at once took to flight, leaving their officers to be cut to pieces by the enemy; and the Afghan horsemen drove the British cavalry before them, until they found shelter under the protection of the artillery.

The news of this untoward event was communicated to the Envoy by Sir Alexander Burnes, who thought there was nothing left for the forces but to fall back upon Cabul. The Ameer, however, was quite well aware that he could not cherish the hope that he would long be able to hold out against British power, and that the victory which he had so unexpectedly gained could not prevent his final overthrow. He had gallantly led the charge of horse which had been so successful; but while his men were marching back towards the Nijrow valley he stole away from them with a single attendant, and pushed for Cabul. On the day after the battle, when Sir William Macnaghton was taking his usual evening ride in the outskirts of the city, a horseman suddenly rode up to him and announced that his master, the Ameer, was at hand. Dost Mahomed himself immediately approached and saluted the British Minister, and placing his sword in Macnaghton's hand, claimed his protection. The redoubtable chief then accompanied the Envoy into the city, where he was treated with great respect and kindness. During the two days he remained in Cabul the Ameer was visited by all the leading officers of the garrison, who paid him the most marked attention, and could not help observing the contrast between their gallant adversary, who had so resolutely fought for his country, and the puppet king whom British policy and arms had placed on the throne in his stead. On the 12th of November, 1840, Dost Mahomed, accompanied by his family under a strong escort, commenced his journey by Jellalabad and through the Khyber Pass into the Punjaub, and thence to Loodhianah, the place appointed for his residence, and the Governor-General allotted him a pension of two lacs of rupees.

The success which had thus far attended our Afghan policy misled not only the Governor-General and his trusted coun-

sellors, but the British Ministry also. It did not, however, delude the Court of Directors, who persisted in their strong disapprobation of the attempt to maintain, by means of British arms and gold, the Shah Soojah on the throne of Cabul, which was costing the Treasury of India £1,250,000 a year. On the 31st of December, 1840, they wrote out to the Supreme Government—'We pronounce our decided opinion that for many years to come the restored monarchy will have need of a British force, in order to maintain peace in its own territory and prevent aggression from without. To whatever quarter we direct our attention, we behold the restored monarchy menaced by dangers which cannot possibly be encountered by the military means at the disposal of the Minister at the court of Shah Soojah; and we again desire you seriously to consider which of the two alternatives (a speedy retreat from Afghanistan, or a considerable increase of the military force in that country) you may feel it your duty to adopt. We are convinced that you have no middle course to pursue with safety or with honour.' Six months afterwards the Court again wrote (June 2nd, 1841), 'The surrender of Dost Mahomed does not alter the views contained in our late letter; and we hope that advantage will be taken of it to settle affairs in Afghanistan according to those views.'

Nothing that the Court of Directors could say, however, had the effect of dispelling the strange delusion which had fallen on the envoy and his subordinates at Cabul, and on the supreme authorities at Calcutta. They cherished a confident and sincere belief that the majority of the people of Afghanistan entertained the most friendly feelings towards Shah Soojah, and the British soldiers by whose bayonets his throne was hedged about and supported; and they could not be induced to believe that there was any danger to an army separated by nearly forty marches, by five broad rivers, and an independent state of an unreliable character, from every means of support. But, strange to say, Shah Soojah himself had no such confident belief in the permanence of his authority. He is said to have declared, in a metaphor at once ludicrous and pathetic, that unsupported by the British Government he would and could be nothing but a radish—the least rooted of plants. In truth, the Shah was detested as a traitor who had sold his country to the infidel Feringhees. It had been a comparatively easy task to reinstate him on the throne; but it proved very difficult to maintain him upon it. The policy was inherently bad, and nothing that we could have done could convert wrong into right; but the catastrophe was hastened by a number of serious mistakes, brought about by ignorance or reckless disregard of the character and feelings of the Afghan people. The Barakzye Sirdars were indignant at the deposition of their chief; the Douranees, though gratified at the restoration of the leader of their order to the throne of his ancestors, were grievously disappointed at finding that they no longer possessed a dominant voice in the royal councils, which were guided and governed by the hated foreigners. The Ghilzyes had been rendered hostile by the reduction of their subsidies to one half of the original amount; and the same cause of complaint had led to the formation of an extensive conspiracy among the Kohistanees. Above all these was the hatred which the various tribes and all classes cherished against the British as foreigners, and against the puppet king who owed his throne to their bayonets and their gold. Strange to say, Sir William Macnaghton the envoy, and General Elphinstone who commanded the troops, were utterly unconscious of the real state of affairs, and turned a deaf ear to all the warnings they received of their danger.

On the retirement of Sir Willoughby Cotton, on the ground of ill health, General Elphinstone, an old officer of the Queen's service, had been appointed to succeed

him. He at one time held the command of Meerut, the most important division in Upper India, and was distinguished by his judicious firmness in maintaining the moral discipline of the troops under his command. His gentlemanly manners made him popular among his brother officers; but he had little Indian experience, he knew nothing of the native army, and was so afflicted with gout as to render active movement in a hilly country an impossibility. 'Disease had broken down his physical strength,' says Sir John Kaye, 'and enfeebled his understanding. He had almost lost the use of his limbs; he could not walk, he could hardly ride. The gout had crippled him in a manner that it was painful to contemplate.' The Commander-in-chief, and the Governor of Agra remonstrated against the appointment of an officer whose bodily frame was enfeebled by disease, and his mind clouded by suffering, to a position requiring the greatest amount of energy and activity; but Lord Auckland seems to have imagined that Afghanistan was as tranquil as any province in our empire, and, therefore, the first officer upon the roster was preferred to the hale and able generals who were at hand for the duty.

General Shelton was the second in command. 'They were both of them brave men,' Sir John adds. 'In any other situation (though the physical infirmities of the one, and the cankered vanity, the dogmatical perverseness of the other, might have in some measure detracted from their efficiency as military commanders) I believe that they would have exhibited sufficient constancy and courage to rescue an army from utter destruction and the British name from indelible reproach. But in the Cabul cantonments they were miserably out of place. They seem to have been sent there by superhuman invention, to work out the utter ruin and prostration of an unholy policy by ordinary human means. Elphinstone knew nothing of the native army; Shelton was violently prejudiced against it. Elphinstone in a new and untried position had no opinion of his own; Shelton, on the other hand, was proud of his experience, and obstinately wedded to his own opinions. It would have been impossible, indeed, to have brought together two men so individually disqualified for their positions, so inefficient in themselves, and so doubly inefficient in combination. Each made the other worse. The only point on which they agreed, was unhappily the one on which it would have been well if they had differed. They agreed in urging the Envoy to capitulate.'

The troops were quartered in cantonments outside the city, and at some little distance from it. The camp was nearly a mile in extent, and the ramparts by which it was defended were simply contemptible. One of the officers, mounted on a small pony, scrambled down the ditch and over the works. Adjoining the cantonments were the Mission compound; and both were surrounded with villages, houses, and gardens, and commanded on every side. The troops could neither enter nor leave the camp without being exposed to a raking fire. To crown the stupendous and almost incredible folly of placing our men in a position which was utterly indefensible, the commissariat supplies were stored in a small fort outside the cantonments, which was still less defensible. The necessity of posting our troops in the Balla Hissar was pointed out and strongly urged by the engineer officers. But Shah Soojah objected, and the barracks were given up for the occupation of his harem. Brigadier Roberts subsequently remonstrated against this arrangement, but in vain. The infatuation which had seized on the Envoy and the military authorities made them apparently fancy that the troops were as safe in Cabul as they would have been in London, and that precautions were as needless in the one case as they would have been in the other. 'Our prospects,' wrote the Envoy, 'are brightening in every direction;' while Major Pottinger was informing him that 'every hour brought rumours of the

formation of an extensive conspiracy against our rule.'

At length on the 2nd of November, 1841, the explosion came. Some of the Afghan chiefs had noticed the unpardonable blunders of the British military authorities, and resolved, with characteristic cunning and treachery, to take advantage of them. 'The immediate cause of this outbreak in the capital,' said Sir William Macnaghton in a memorandum which has been preserved, 'was a seditious letter addressed by Abdoolah Khan to several chiefs of influence at Cabul, stating that it was the design of the Envoy to seize and send them all to London. The principal rebels met on the previous night; and relying on the inflammable feelings of the people of Cabul, they pretended that the king had issued an order to put all infidels to death, having previously forged an order from him for our destruction, by the common process of washing out the contents of a genuine paper, with the exception of the seal, and substituting their own wicked inventions.'

The outbreak commenced with an attack on the house of Sir Alexander Burnes, who lived in the city itself. Though his advice had been neglected, and a policy of which he disapproved had been adopted, he had waited on in the expectation of obtaining the position he had long coveted. Sir William Macnaghton was about to retire from his post, in order to become Governor of Bombay, and it was understood that Burnes was to be his successor. He had evidently no suspicion that he was especially obnoxious to the fanatical Afghans, both because, like many of the English officers, he was an object of jealousy on account of his intercourse with the women of Cabul, and because he was believed, while professing to be the friend of Dost Mahomed, to have brought the British army into the country. He was repeatedly warned of his danger, and informed that the chiefs were contriving plans against British rule, and therefore it would not be safe for him to remain in the city without a sufficient guard. But so obstinately blind was he to the ominous indications of danger, that on the evening before the insurrection occurred, he congratulated Macnaghton on his approaching departure at a season of such profound tranquillity. He was soon to be fatally undeceived.

At break of day the Envoy received information that an insurrection had broken out in the city; but he treated the news lightly, as a matter of no importance. A note was soon after received from Burnes himself, conveying similar intelligence, but speaking slightingly of the disturbance, though asking military support. If it had been sent at once, the riot might have been quelled; but with the infatuation which marked every step taken by the authorities, assistance was delayed until it was too late. The house which Burnes occupied in the city was by this time surrounded by an infuriated mob. Before daylight that fatal morning he was warned by a friendly Afghan of the danger to which he was exposed; but he was quite incredulous on that point. Oosman Khan, the Afghan Wuzeer, next came with the same evil tidings, and entreated Sir Alexander, before it was too late, to take refuge in the Balla Hissar or in the cantonments; but he obstinately refused to leave his post. He had always, he said, been a friend to the Afghans, and he could not be made to believe that they regarded him as their enemy. He harangued the mob from a gallery in the upper part of the house; but 'he might as well have addressed himself to a herd of savage beasts.' Finding the mob increasing in numbers and becoming more and more outrageous, he disguised himself in some articles of native attire and attempted to make his way through the garden, but was discovered and cut to pieces. His brother, Captain Charles Burnes, shared his fate, as did Lieutenant William Broadfoot, 'an officer of rare merit,' who was to have been his military secretary; he killed six of the Afghans with his own hand before he fell. These

cruel murders did not satiate the thirst of the mob for blood; nor did the plunder of the houses of Sir Alexander Burnes and of Captain Johnson, the Shah's paymaster, which stood contiguous to each other, assuage their thirst for plunder. They slaughtered the guards and the servants, men, women, and children alike; they then gutted the shops in the city, burned the houses, and put to death all whom they found in the residences of the British officers. And while these savage deeds were being perpetrated, 6000 of our soldiers were lying inactive within half an hour's march of the horrid scene.

It is the unhesitating opinion of all who were conversant with the position of affairs that a very small force, vigorously employed, would have quelled the first outbreak of the insurrection. 'Not only I, but several of the officers,' says Captain Johnson, 'have spoken to Afghans on the subject; there never has been one dissenting voice, that had a small party gone into the town prior to the plunder of my treasury and the murder of Burnes, the insurrection would have been instantly quashed.' And Captain Mackenzie states, that in his frequent communications at a subsequent period with the chiefs of the Kuzzilbash faction, 'all the circumstances of the late insurrection were over and over again recapitulated—one and all declaring positively that the slightest exhibition of energy on our part in the first instance, more especially in reinforcing my post and that of Trevor, would at once have decided the Kuzzilbashes and all over whom they possessed any influence in our favour.' The Envoy and General Elphinstone must share the responsibility between them of this stupendous blunder—the former from humanity carried to a point of weakness; the latter from indecision and incapacity, largely due to his physical infirmities. Instead of directing their thoughts to the one great object of promptly suppressing the disturbance, the Envoy thought about the wishes of the Shah and the comforts of the people; whilst the General, too glad to be saved the trouble of thinking at all, readily adopted Macnaghton's opinions, and believed that the fires which had broken out in the city might be left to die out by themselves.'

The other proceedings of the British authorities were in perfect keeping with this wretched commencement. The commissariat stores, as we have seen, were placed in a fort without the cantonments, and beyond the reach of protection. The Envoy was 'very urgently' pressed to repair this gross blunder, 'but without avail.' The fort in which the stores were placed was left under the guard of an ensign with 100 Sepoys. On the 1st of November he reported that 'he was very hard pressed by the enemy, and in danger of being completely cut off.' Mahomed Shereef's fort, which lay between the cantonment and the depot of supplies, was now taken possession of by the Afghans. General Elphinstone had on the preceding day expressed his desire to garrison this fort with our own troops, but Sir William Macnaghton declared that it would not be politic to do so, and the General, as usual, acquiesced in this opinion. The enemy posted in this fort inflicted severe loss on two companies sent to reinforce the garrison of the Commissariat fort; and a slight detachment, consisting mainly of cavalry despatched to enable the guard to evacuate the fort, suffered still more severely from the Afghan marksmen sheltered by Mahomed Shereef's fort and the trees in the Shah's garden, and had to retreat without accomplishing their object. The resolution of the General to abandon the fort, in which not only our grain but our hospital stores had been deposited, excited the utmost consternation; and Captain Boyd, the chief commissariat officer, remonstrated warmly against this insane proposal, and recommended that the guard should be reinforced. The poor General assented to this advice, and promised to follow it, but nothing was done. A second remonstrance was made in the most emphatic language by Captain Boyd

and Captain Johnson, with the same result. A letter was received at this juncture from Ensign Warren, who commanded the garrison, imploring assistance, and declaring that unless reinforcements were speedily sent, he would be compelled to abandon his post. Once more General Elphinstone promised that troops should be sent, soon after midnight, to take the Mahomed Shereef's fort; but some of those about the poor old man recommended him to delay carrying out this resolution till an early hour in the morning. Before that period arrived Ensign Warren appeared in the cantonments with his garrison, having, as he forewarned the General, been compelled to evacuate the fort. The enemy were mining under the walls, and had actually set fire to the gate. The Sepoys lost heart; and Warren, seeing no prospect of a reinforcement, and expecting the enemy every moment to rush in, led out his men through a hole which he had made underneath the walls. 'It is beyond a doubt,' says Lieutenant Eyre, 'that our feeble and ineffectual defence of this fort, and the valuable booty it yielded, was the first *fatal* blow to our supremacy at Cabul, and at once determined those chiefs—and more particularly the Kuzzilbashes—who had hitherto remained neutral, to join in the general combination to drive us from the country.'

The imbecility through which our army, 5000 strong at least, suffered all its provisions to be carried off after being three days in a state of siege, from a post guarded by an ensign and 100 Sepoys, was certainly well fitted to strengthen the cause of the insurgents; but even this loss might have been retrieved, if prompt and vigorous measures had been adopted. Lieutenant Eyre says, that when the loss of the Commissariat fort was known, 'one universal feeling of indignation pervaded the garrison nor can I describe the impatience of the troops, but especially the native portion, to be led out for its recapture.' But there was no one to lead them. The Commissariat fort on the outskirts of the city, in which the supplies of the Shah's troops were stored, had through the same unpardonable negligence and want of foresight and decision been also allowed to fall into the hands of the enemy. There was one resource more in this hour of need; there was an ample force under the General's command to have stormed the city of Cabul, and taken all its abundant stock of winter provisions. But instead of this vigorous course time and blood were wasted in miserable skirmishes, giving every advantage to the enemy, who were formidable only as marksmen behind walls; and our soldiers were penned up in their cantonments until physical privation and mental depression under such unwonted discomfiture and disgrace had done their work, and they became no longer willing, or perhaps even able to face the enemy, whom, if they had been properly led, they could have easily routed.

Affairs rapidly became worse. A limited supply of provisions had been obtained by purchase from the inhabitants of the adjoining villages, but the troops had to be put on half rations. The General and Brigadier Shelton could not agree on any step; and it was mainly in consequence of the perverse obstinacy of the latter that the proposal to remove to the Balla Hissar, 'the only measure which could have saved the British force from destruction and the British name from degradation, was rejected in this conjuncture.' Several movements undertaken at this crisis to drive back the enemy were so badly planned or feebly carried out, that they either wholly failed, or were attended with very imperfect success. At length, on the 23rd of November, an attempt was made by Shelton to dislodge the Afghans from a position which enabled them to inflict great annoyance and loss on our troops. The arrangements were made, as Sir John Kaye says, 'with a fatuity only to be accounted for by the belief that the curse of God was upon these unhappy people.' The movement ended in a total

defeat; the Sepoys became panic-struck and refused to charge the enemy, and, in one confused mass of infantry and cavalry, of European and native soldiers, they sought refuge within the walls of the cantonment.

'Our troops,' wrote Macnaghton, 'are behaving like a pack of despicable cowards, and there is no spirit or enterprise left among us. The military authorities want me to capitulate, but this I am anxious to put off till the last moment. In the meantime we shall soon have to come to some decision, as we have only three days' provision for our troops, and nothing for our cattle.'

All hope of successful resistance was now at an end; and as the military authorities still set their faces against removal into the Balla Hissar, nothing remained but to open negotiations with the Afghans and endeavour to obtain from them the most favourable terms they could be induced to grant. Three days after the insurrection broke out, the General first hinted at the necessity of treating with the enemy. Next day (November 6) he again wrote to the Envoy, suggesting the expediency of making terms with the least possible delay; and Macnaghton made an attempt through the agency of the Moonshee, Mohun Lal, to buy off the enemy. It appears that a British officer, who was in the Balla Hissar with the Shah, offered through the same agent to pay 10,000 rupees for the head of each of the principal rebel chiefs. The Envoy, however, knew nothing of this most discreditable proposal. His object was to gain the Ghilzyes, and he offered their chiefs two lacs of rupees; but before the bargain was concluded he broke off the negotiation, and thus gave them mortal offence. Now, however, the negotiations were resumed; but the terms proposed by the Afghan chiefs were so insolent and dishonourable, that they were at once peremptorily rejected.

At this critical stage Mahomed Akbar Khan appeared upon the scene. He was the favourite son of Dost Mahomed. According to all accounts he was a courageous, energetic, unscrupulous person —impetuous and passionate, burning with the desire to take vengeance on those who had dethroned his father, and for two years made himself an outcast and a fugitive from his native country. He speedily became the leader of the insurrection against Shah Soojah and his British protectors. The Envoy having received a formal official intimation from the General, signed also by the three senior officers under his command, that it was impossible any longer to hold out against the enemy, agreed to enter into negotiations with the leading chiefs for the safe retreat of the army out of the country. After a conference of two hours it was agreed that the British troops should evacuate their cantonments within three days, and that the chiefs should in the meantime supply them with provisions. The march of the army was, however, delayed for a week, for reasons which cannot be accurately ascertained. Some allege that the delay was owing to the bad faith of the chiefs; others ascribe it to the reluctance of the Envoy to carry out such a humiliating arrangement. Whatever was the cause, the result was ruinous. Snow began to fall heavily; and the severity of the weather destroyed the last hope that the British army, encumbered with women and children, and baggage, and a multitude of camp followers, would ever reach their destination in safety.

As difficulties increased and dangers threatened, the chiefs rose in their demands; and, on the other hand, Macnaghton began an underhand intrigue with the Ghilzyes, while openly negotiating with the Barukzyes and Akbar Khan. An offer was made by the Sirdar, which was so tempting, yet so manifestly unattainable, that it ought to have excited the suspicions of the Envoy. But he caught eagerly at the proposal; and accompanied by the officers of his staff, Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie, he went to a conference

with the wily and treacherous Afghan chief. The conference had scarcely begun when the Envoy and his companions were suddenly seized from behind. A violent struggle ensued; and Akbar Khan, enraged at Macnaghton's resistance, shot him through the body with one of a pair of pistols which he had presented to the Sirdar on the previous day. Trevor was killed, and the other two officers were carried off prisoners. The seizure of Macnaghton was an act of base and deliberate treachery; but it is alleged that the murder was unpremeditated, and was the result of a sudden gust of passion on the part of the impulsive chief. It is believed that it was Akbar Khan's intention merely to have seized the person of the Envoy, and to have held him as a hostage to secure both the evacuation of Afghanistan and the restoration of Dost Mahomed. But hearing a cry of alarm that the English were coming out of the cantonments to rescue the Envoy, he was roused to fury, and suddenly drew out his pistol and fired.

In spite of this proof of the treachery of the Afghans, the military authorities still considered it necessary to complete the negotiations which the late Envoy had commenced. Major Eldred Pottinger, the hero of Herat, had some weeks before arrived at Cabul, suffering from a severe wound which had confined him to his bed. He was now called into council, and intrusted with the painful task of arranging the terms of a treaty which he regarded with mingled indignation and disgust. He strove to rouse the military chiefs from the slough of humiliation into which they had sunk, and pointed out that both duty and wise policy dictated their rejection of the degrading terms which their treacherous and cruel enemies sought to impose upon them. It was all in vain. He had nothing for it but to consent to the conditions which the Afghans thought fit to prescribe. Cabul, Candahar, Ghuznee, and Jellalabad were to be immediately evacuated. Dost Mahomed was to be restored, along with the other Afghan prisoners, to his own country. All the coin in the public treasury was to be given up to the chiefs. All the guns but six, and all the spare muskets, were to be left behind. And finally, certain officers were to remain with the Afghans as hostages for the complete fulfilment of the treaty. On these terms the chiefs granted the army a safe-conduct to Peshawur; and the garrison, with a security of the most imperfect and precarious kind, agreed to abandon their encampments and to set out on their march to Hindostan.

On the 6th of January this disastrous retreat commenced. The snow was lying deep on the ground, and the cold was intense. Several precious hours were, as usual, lost before the advanced guard moved out of the cantonments; and yet after all they commenced their march without the strong escort which had been promised for their protection from the fanatical and ferocious Ghazees and the plundering Afghan bandits. Delays occurred at every stage, and ample time was thus afforded to the enemy for preparation to assail the dispirited struggling mass at every obstruction. It was two o'clock in the morning before the last portion of the force came up; and yet the distance traversed on the first day of the retreat was only five miles. Already the feebler members, the women and young children, and a number of the Sepoys, were sinking under the cold and fatigue. At every stage suffering, sickness, and deaths increased. The camp followers died by hundreds, and officers and soldiers sank down on the snow, or were destroyed in detail by the Afghan horsemen. The doomed host struggled on without guidance, or help, or hope. On the second night, without shelter, or firewood, or food, they were huddled together, and lay down on the ground to sleep, many of them never to awake. Akbar Khan now appeared upon the scene with a body of 600 horsemen, and demanded and obtained three

additional hostages—Major Pottinger, and Captains Lawrence and Mackenzie—as security that Sale would evacuate Jellalabad. The retreating force, having accomplished a distance of only ten miles in two days, now entered the tremendous pass of Koord Cabul, which for five miles runs between precipitous mountain ranges so narrow and lofty that in winter the sun rarely penetrates its dark recesses. In this terrible defile 3000 men are said to have been massacred by the Ghilzies, who poured down from the hills on the struggling and helpless rabble. Here Akbar Khan offered to protect the ladies and children if they were committed to his charge. His proposal was accepted, and Lady Macnaghton, widow of the murdered Envoy; Lady Sale, whose gallant husband was holding Jellalabad at the mouth of the Khyber Pass; Mrs. Sturt, her daughter, whose youthful husband, Lieutenant Sturt of the Engineers, was mortally wounded in the Pass; Mrs. Trevor, widow of the officer who was killed along with Sir William Macnaghton, and a number of other ladies—were placed under the charge of the Afghan chief; and on the recommendation of General Elphinstone the husbands of the married ladies were made to accompany them. It was fortunate for them that this step was taken. 'The women and children could not long have survived the horrors of that perilous march. They had hitherto escaped almost by a miracle the assaults of the cruel climate and the inexorable foe; they were insufficiently clad; they had no servants to attend upon them; they had scarcely tasted food since they left Cabul; they had no shelter during the frosty night season. Some had just become, or were about soon to become mothers; and yet they had been compelled to ride in jolting camel panniers or on the backs of stumbling baggage-ponies.' In the position in which the army was placed, to have left the women and children to pursue their march would have been to have left them to inevitable destruction. There is no reason to doubt that Akbar Khan, violent and ferocious as he was, feeling that he was helpless to prevent the butchery of the troops by the Afghan tribes, really wished to protect the women and children. At the same time there can be as little doubt that he intended them as hostages for the delivery of his father and the women of his family, who were in the hands of the British Government in Hindostan.

Next morning (January 10) the remnant of the force resumed its march towards Jellalabad. On reaching a narrow gorge between two precipitous hills, the Afghans poured down in irresistible numbers on the helpless mass and slaughtered them like sheep. Not a single Sepoy was left, and only about 450 British soldiers, whose movements were unhappily encumbered, and indeed paralyzed by the camp followers. They fought their way inch by inch to the Pass of Jugdulluck, where they were obliged to halt. Akbar Khan had repeatedly made overtures to them that they should lay down their arms and place themselves under his protection, which were at once rejected. But now he invited the General, Brigadier Shelton, and Captain Johnson to a conference, and detained them as hostages for the evacuation of Jellalabad. He promised, however, to exert his authority to restrain the tribes from massacre and plunder; but they were not to be restrained. Even the offer of large sums of money was unavailing, to induce these savages to desist from their murderous attacks. On the evening of the 12th there remained only about 120 men of the 44th, and twenty-five artillery men. On reaching the Pass of Jugdulluck—a dark, precipitous, narrow defile—they found that a barricade of bushes and the branches of trees had been erected near the summit, and blocked up the mouth of the Pass. In the conflict which ensued in the attempt to surmount this barrier, nearly the whole of our officers and troops perished, including Brigadier Anquetel, upon whom the command had devolved after the capture of Elphinstone

and Shelton, and Colonel Chambers, who had commanded the cavalry at Cabul. Twenty officers and forty-five European soldiers cleared the barricade, and reached Gundamuk about daybreak, but there they were overwhelmed by a host of enemies. A few privates were taken prisoners; but the greater part—officers and men—were massacred. A handful had pushed on in advance of the column, but they were cut off one by one, until when they reached Futtehabad, sixteen miles from Jellalabad, their number was reduced to six. Five of these were killed by the Afghans on the way; and one alone, Dr. Bryden—out of 4500 soldiers and 12,000 camp followers—reached the city of refuge to tell the tale. In the annals of our country there is happily no other instance of an enterprise, so unrighteous in its origin and object, so badly contrived, organized, and conducted, and so ruinous in its results, as this Cabul tragedy.

There is one minor episode in the expedition of a different character—the operation of Sale's brigade. About the beginning of October, 1841, Sir Robert Sale, who commanded a brigade at Cabul, consisting of the 13th Light Infantry and the 35th Native Infantry, received orders to return to India. Their arms were of a very inferior description, and their old flint and steel muskets had become, through much use, almost unserviceable. There were at that time in store 4000 new muskets, constructed on the detonating principle, and Sir Robert Sale begged permission to arm his regiment from that large stock; but General Elphinstone would not listen to the suggestion. The new and excellent weapons were in consequence left to become the spoil of the Afghans. The brigade before starting was reinforced by 100 men of the Shah's sappers and miners, with Captain Broadfoot at their head, two 6-pounders, and a squadron of the 5th regiment Bengal Light Infantry. Altogether, they amounted to 1000 men, encumbered as usual with a vast multitude of camp followers, and an enormous mass of baggage. Immediately on starting they were annoyed by the desultory attacks of the Afghans, and at the Boothak gorge they had to carry a stone barricade which had been thrown up to arrest their progress. Sir Robert Sale himself received a musket ball in the ankle just as he entered the Pass; but a few casualties among the rank and file of the men engaged in the conflict did not hinder the advance of the brigade. The Afghans were driven off whenever they ventured to assail our men in force, but the treachery of a body of the natives, who professed to be friendly, and were permitted to pitch their tents within the encampment, cost the force the lives of Captain Jenkins and thirty spahis, and eighty camels laden with baggage. Having cleared the gorge the brigade halted for nine or ten days until a sufficient supply of camels had been sent from Cabul to carry their baggage, including tents, hospital stores, and ammunition; and on the 22nd of October they resumed their march. They were assailed by the Afghans at every stage; and though the natives seldom ventured to encounter our men either in a stand-up fight upon the plain or in a smart skirmish, they were most skilful in taking advantage of the cover afforded them by the numerous rocks and crags which skirted the road, and they turned to account every opportunity afforded them to attack the rear-guard at a disadvantage and seize the baggage. A sharp encounter took place in the valley of Tizeen, which cost the British troops several valuable lives, though the enemy were repulsed with considerable loss. Sir Robert Sale took every precaution to protect his men from sudden attacks, never for a single moment relaxing his vigilance; and it was to his judicious arrangements that the safety of the brigade was in a great measure due. They had to fight their way at almost every step of their perilous march, especially when entangled in narrow passes inclosed on both sides for many miles by precipitous rocks, and were repeatedly

exposed to still more serious annoyance and danger by the treachery of the Douranees and other tribes, who had given in their adherence to Shah Soojah, and professed to be friendly to the British. On the 3rd of November the brigade reached the valley of Gundamuk, a fertile strath of considerable extent, studded with towns and hamlets, and abounding in forest trees of different kinds, with a sufficient supply of water. 'For eighteen successive days,' says Mr. Gleig, 'they had toiled through the heart of bleak and arid mountains. Beneath their feet lay a loose shingle intermixed with large stones such as torrents roll onwards in their course and leave high and dry when the strength of the water recedes, while above and around them uprose walls of granite, surmounted by jagged peaks or broken cliffs, on which not so much as a blade of grass grew. The contrast was therefore exceeding striking, and the travellers relished it the more that there seemed some prospect of obtaining here the rest of which they stood in need; while the addition of fruit and vegetables to their diet promised as much to benefit the health of the men as it conduced in every possible way to gratify their tastes.'

Shah Soojah had made this valley one of his military posts; and two of his own regiments, one of cavalry the other of infantry, were stationed in a cantonment built for their accommodation on the summit of an extensive table-land about the centre of the valley. The tents of Sale's brigade were pitched close to this cantonment; and in this place of comparative security they remained for eight days, to recruit their energies and to prepare for the struggle which they were well aware awaited them before they could reach their destination.

Sale had now been nearly three weeks without any news from Cabul; but at this stage vague rumours spread through the camp that affairs were not going well at the capital, and that there had been a rising of the native tribes and much hard fighting. The question has been frequently discussed by military critics, whether General Sale ought not at this point to have retraced his steps to Cabul, or if such a movement were impossible, to have stood his ground at Gundamuk. It is the general opinion that the appearance of his brigade at Cabul would have changed the aspect of affairs at that place, and in all probability have rescued Elphinstone's force from destruction. On the 10th of November, Captain Macgregor, the political agent accompanying the troops, received a letter from Sir William Macnaghton, giving him authentic intelligence of the outbreak, and urgently requesting him to bring back Sale's brigade to the relief of the beleaguered garrison. But Sale was of opinion that it would be impossible for him to reach Cabul. A council of war was held to consider the letter of the Envoy; the members of it were divided in opinion, but the majority were opposed to the movement for the rescue of Elphinstone's force. The reasons which determined them to pursue their march to Jellalabad were stated by Sale himself in a letter written from that place on the 15th of November. 'I have to acknowledge,' he said, 'the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, requiring the force under my command to move again upon Cabul. In reply, I beg to represent that the whole of my camp equipage has been destroyed; that the wounded and sick have increased to upwards of 300; that there is no longer a single depot of provisions on the route; and that the carriage of the force is not sufficient to bring on one day's rations with it. I have at the same time positive information that the whole country is in arms, and ready to oppose us in the defiles between this city and Cabul, whilst my ammunition is insufficient for more than two such contests as I should assuredly have to maintain for six days at least. With my present means I could not force the passes of either Jugdulluck or Koord

Cabul; and even if the *debris* of my brigade did reach Cabul, I am given to understand that I should find the troops now garrisoning it without the means of subsistence. Under these circumstances a regard for the honour and interests of our Government compels me to adhere to my plan already formed of putting this place into a state of defence, and holding it if possible until the Cabul force falls back upon me, or succours arrive from Peshawur or India.'

Sir John Kaye seems to be of opinion that Sale might have adopted a middle course, and have retained his position at Gundamuk; and if he had done so, he might have saved Elphinstone's army from annihilation on its fatal January retreat. As long as it was encamped there the tendency of the Ghilzie chiefs was towards the establishment of friendly relations with the British; but no sooner had the brigade abandoned this position than the whole country broke out into hostility, and the passes were sealed. But very little reliance could have been placed on the friendly feeling or even neutrality of the Ghilzies when they had been informed of the disasters at Cabul; and Sale explicitly stated that at Gundamuk he could not absolutely command a day's provisions or even water, and should have been hemmed in on every side by hostile tribes amounting to 30,000 or 40,000 men, part of whom might have seized Jellalabad and reduced it to ashes, or holding it, have left him no alternative but a disastrous retreat to Peshawur. He therefore came to the resolution of anticipating any movement of this kind, and by possessing himself of Jellalabad establishing a point on which the force at Cabul might retire if hardly pressed, and restoring a link in the chain of communication with our provinces.

On the 11th of November the brigade commenced its march towards Jellalabad. The greater part of the camels and other baggage animals had been stolen by the drivers, who had led them out under the pretext of feeding, and had disappeared with them among the hills. Sir Robert was therefore compelled to leave behind him the camp equipage and the private baggage of the officers, which was consigned to the care of the Shah's irregulars posted in the cantonment. The animals that were left, however, were found sufficient to carry the ammunition, and the hospital and commissariat stores, which were indispensably necessary for the safety of the troops. At the end of their first day's march—a distance of fourteen miles—tidings reached them that immediately after their departure from Gundamuk, the Shah's Janbazees (cavalry) had joined the enemy, and after seizing all the property which they cared to appropriate, had set fire to the cantonment and burned it to the ground along with the remainder of the heavy baggage.

The whole surrounding country immediately rose in open revolt. Next morning the hills bordering the line of march were covered with Afghans, who poured a storm of fire upon the comparative handful of British troops in the valley below; but by their combined skill and courage they kept the enemy at bay. 'A running skirmish which lasted for some miles, and brought out the fine qualities of our troops, their admirable discipline and steadiness under fire, the gallantry of their bearing, and the rapidity of their movements, ended in the dispersion of the depredators who strove to sweep off the baggage, and secured the safety of the remainder of their march.' Colonel Dennie, by a dexterous manœuvre, contrived to lead the enemy into an ambush, where vast numbers of them were cut off. At a point where the hills closed in on either side, leaving only a narrow gorge between, he drew up his cavalry out of sight under cover of a shoulder of one of the hills. He then ordered the infantry to charge the Afghans who were following in their rear, and after putting them to flight, to wheel round and run as if panic-stricken through the gorge. The result which Colonel Dennie anticipated took place.

The Afghans, imagining that the 'Feringhees' were fleeing from them in terror, set up a fiendish howl and rushed after them in wild hurry and confusion, confidently expecting that they would now at last be able to seize the coveted baggage. As soon as they had passed through the gorge of the pass and reached the open valley, the cavalry rushed at them with sudden fury, while at the same time a body of irregular horse, which Sir Robert Sale, observing the nature of the country as he passed, had sent back, fell upon them from the opposite side. The slaughter was tremendous, and the masses of the Afghans were scattered like chaff. It was said of the British horsemen that day, that 'their right arms were wearied with the blows which they struck; and the quantity of dead that might be seen scattered over the face of the valley proved that they had not struck at random.' This sanguinary overthrow had the effect of deterring the enemy from any further attempt to molest the rearguard, on their march to join their comrades who had preceded them to Jellalabad.

Jellalabad, the winter residence of the kings of Cabul, is situated in a fertile valley about twenty-eight miles in length and three or four in breadth. It had been originally a place of considerable importance, but from various causes had fallen into complete decay. The Afghans were under the impression that the British troops intended to proceed at once to Hindostan; and they were taken completely by surprise when, on the 13th of November, the brigade turned towards the town and entered it by the nearest gate. The inhabitants were thrown into a state of great alarm, and as many of them as could get away made their escape by the opposite gates without even a show of resistance, leaving behind their stores of provisions and effects of every kind. The British troops thus obtained possession of the town without requiring to fire a shot or to draw a sabre.

The Afghans, however, speedily recovered from their panic; and Sale had scarcely made himself master of the place when it was surrounded by swarms of the natives, uttering the most discordant yells and cries, and threatening vengeance on the intruders unless they immediately abandoned the town. The gallant little force who held it were placed in very perilous circumstances. Their stock of provisions would only suffice for two days' consumption. The city walls were dilapidated and full of breaches, and the ditches had been filled up, so that it was without any real defence. Sale was apprehensive that, under cover of the darkness, the Afghans might force their way into the town by mere weight of numbers. Every precaution was therefore taken to guard against a surprise. Guards were placed at each of the gates, and sentries stationed at intervals round the whole of the circuit. A strong picket was planted in a kind of square in the centre of the town, in readiness to send support to any point where firing might be heard. The remainder of the troops lay down to rest with their weapons beside them, ready to turn out at a moment's notice.

As there was not an hour to lose in deciding what course to follow, a council of war was at once held to determine whether they should attempt to hold the town or concentrate the troops in the Balla Hissar or citadel which stood in the midst of it, and was sufficiently extensive to contain the whole force without inconvenience. After a good deal of discussion it was ultimately resolved to keep possession of the whole of the town, mainly through the urgent recommendation of Colonel Dennie, who pointed out that the abandonment of the city would be a virtual acknowledgment of weakness which would greatly encourage the enemy, who would besides attack the citadel to great advantage under cover of the houses and narrow lanes in its vicinity.

Having come to this conclusion it became absolutely necessary that the defences of the city should be at once repaired. They

were in a most ruinous condition. 'I found the walls of Jellalabad,' Sale said, 'in a state which might have justified despair as to the possibility of defending them. The *enceinte* was far too extensive for my small force, embracing a circumference of 2300 yards. Its tracing was vicious in the extreme; it had no parapet excepting for a few hundred yards, while this was not more than two feet high; earth and rubbish had accumulated to such an extent about the ramparts that there were roads in various directions across and over them into the country. There was a space of 400 yards together on which none of the garrison could show themselves excepting at one spot; the population within was disaffected; and the whole *enceinte* was surrounded by ruined forts, walls, mosques, tombs, and gardens, from which a fire could be opened upon the defenders at twenty and thirty yards.'

It was impossible to carry through the work of repairing defences so dilapidated, as long as the Afghan hordes were swarming around the place. It was therefore resolved to make a sally and drive them to a distance. On the morning of the 16th of November a body of 1100 men, consisting of 700 infantry and the whole of the cavalry, along with two guns and a body of Jezalchees, marched out under the command of Colonel Monteith of the 35th Bengal Infantry, to attack the enemy, who were about 5000 in number. They offered a stout resistance, but in the end were defeated with great slaughter, especially of the Janbazees, who had betrayed their trust and gone over to the insurgents at Gundamuk. The victors returned to the city greatly elated by their success; and the Afghans did not venture for a whole fortnight to make any serious attack upon the garrison.

The work of repairing and strengthening the fortifications of the town was now, with little or no interruption, carried on vigorously under the charge of Captain Broadfoot, a most energetic and skilful officer, who commanded the corps of sappers. Foraging parties were sent out by Captain Macgregor, who took charge of the commissariat, and brought in large quantities of grain and flocks of sheep sufficient to victual the garrison for a month. The men were placed on half rations; but they discharged their duties cheerfully as well as diligently. 'Cheerfully too,' says Kaye, 'worked the Europeans without their accustomed drams. There were no ardent liquors in Jellalabad; and the consequence was that the men enjoyed, even on half rations, an amount of health, and strength, and elasticity, and preserved a regularity of discipline unknown to even the 13th when the fire water was served out to them.'

It was not until the beginning of December that it became necessary for the defenders to give their assailants another lesson to keep at a distance. For several days previous large parties of the enemy, numbering from 4000 to 5000 men, were hovering about, firing at the sentinels and interrupting the operations of the working parties. The garrison were obliged to husband their ammunition; and as long as no direct assault was made upon the town, they reserved their musketry fire, and contented themselves with directing an occasional cannon shot at the Afghans, who had assembled in a body on a rocky hill to the south of the town. The enemy, encouraged by this mode of procedure, became more bold and menacing; and their skirmishers, coming up almost close to the walls, compelled the sappers to desist from their work. Sir Robert Sale therefore found it necessary to chastise them. About midday on the 1st of December, the cavalry, along with a detachment of the infantry, with two nine-pounder guns, marched out of the town under the command of Colonel Dennie, and fell upon the enemy, whom they scattered in all directions. About 150 of the Afghans fell in this encounter, while the British troops did not lose a single man.

This successful sortie gained for the garrison several weeks of comparative

repose, during which they prosecuted with the utmost assiduity the work of strengthening the defences of the town and increasing their stock of provisions. But distressing rumours now reached them respecting the disasters at Cabul; and on the second day of January, 1842, a letter was received from Eldred Pottinger, conveying the sad intelligence of the murder of the Envoy, and that negotiations had commenced for the capitulation of General Elphinstone's force. A despatch from Akbar Khan to one of the chiefs in the vicinity of Jellalabad was intercepted, and made the garrison aware that a holy war had been proclaimed, and that all the faithful were adjured in the name of the Prophet to rise against the infidels, 'whose chief,' said the writer, 'I have slain with my own hand, as you, I trust, will in like manner slay the chief of the Feringhees in Jellalabad.' On the 9th of January a small band of horsemen appeared under the walls of the town with a flag of truce, one of whom was the bearer of a letter, dated the 29th of December, from Eldred Pottinger and General Elphinstone to Captain Macgregor, intimating that the general, in terms of a convention with Akbar Khan, had agreed to evacuate the country, and giving instructions that the troops garrisoning Jellalabad should march immediately, with their arms, stores, and ammunition, for Peshawur. A council of war was held to consider what should be done in these circumstances; and it was unanimously resolved that it would not be prudent to act upon such a document, and that the garrison should therefore abide where it was till further orders. 'I felt convinced,' said Captain Macgregor, 'that treachery was intended by the Afghan chiefs, in which case our retaining possession of the fortress of Jellalabad became of incalculable advantage to the retreating force; and if it succeeded in reaching Jellalabad, strengthened as it would be by the garrison, we might yet have upheld our authority in Ningrahar until an opportunity would have been afforded to the British Government to reinforce us so as to commence operations for the recapture of Cabul.' Besides, the letter did not reach Captain Macgregor until eleven days after it was written, and the fate of the Cabul troops was sealed by that period. 'Had the requisition been complied with,' he adds, 'Government would most undoubtedly have had to lament the destruction of the Jellalabad garrison as well as that of the Cabul force; the wishes of the enemy evidently being to inveigle us into their power, and then to do their worst towards us.'

Four days after the receipt of the orders to evacuate Jellalabad, when the garrison were busily engaged on the works, with their arms piled close at hand, a sentry on the ramparts, looking out towards Gundamuk and the Cabul road, called out that he saw a solitary horseman riding slowly towards the town. The officers hastened to the ramparts, and directing their telescopes in the direction intimated, perceived sure enough a European leaning rather than sitting upon a wretched weary pony, evidently either sick or wounded, and scarcely able to retain his seat. No one doubted that he was the bearer of evil tidings from the Cabul army. 'Strange as it may appear,' says Mr. Gleig, 'it was nevertheless true that from the first Colonel Dennie had boded ill of the force left in Cabul, and had repeatedly declared his conviction that to a man the army would be destroyed. His words were, "You'll see. Not a soul will escape from Cabul except one man; and he will come to tell us that the rest are destroyed." Under such circumstances it is very little to be wondered at if men's blood curdled while they watched the advance of the solitary horseman; and the voice of Dennie sounded like the response of an oracle when he exclaimed, "Did I not say so? Here comes the messenger."'

A party of cavalry was promptly sent out to meet the traveller, and brought him in wounded, faint, and half dead. He

proved to be Dr. Bryden, who believed himself to be the sole survivor of the 16,000 men who seven days before had set out on their ill-fated retreat from Cabul. As soon as care and refreshment had in some degree recovered his strength, he related to the officers of the garrison the unparalleled tale of imbecility, mismanagement, and suffering—how the Cabul force had been destroyed in detail by the frost and snow, the guns and knives of the Afghans; and how a few of the officers who were better mounted than the rest had pushed on in advance of the column, but had fallen one by one until six only remained. These had halted for a few minutes at Futtehabad, sixteen miles from Jellalabad, to eat a morsel of bread treacherously offered them by some peasants there. While thus engaged a party of armed ruffians rushed out upon them and cut two of them down. The other four galloped off, but three of them were overtaken and killed; and Dr. Bryden alone, after a perilous encounter with an Afghan horseman, in which he was wounded, escaped to Jellalabad.

These dreadful tidings made the garrison feel that their safety must now, under divine Providence, depend exclusively on their own exertions. They therefore prosecuted with indomitable perseverance the task of strengthening the defences of the town. The spade and the pick-axe were plied with unwearied assiduity until, as Broadfoot states, 'by the middle of January, the commencement of the rainy season, a parapet nowhere less than six feet high, with a banquette as wide as the nature of the rampart allowed, was completed entirely round the place. The gates were repaired and strengthened by buttresses. Two of them were retrenched, and a ditch carried round the north-west angle, while some of the most dangerous ravines were laid open to our force, and roads were opened into the low ground on the north side.'* A most seasonable supply of money had also been sent from Peshawur through the agency of the friendly chief of Lalpoora; and as the cupidity of the Afghans, even in existing circumstances, was not proof against English gold, the garrison succeeded in bribing some of the chiefs and heads of villages in the districts around to send in large supplies of grain, and sheep, and cattle. An interesting and gratifying incident is mentioned by Mr. Gleig, that, 'regularly as the Lord's day came round, brigade orders called both officers and men together, that, in his own name and in the names of his comrades, one of themselves might present to their Father which is in heaven their common sacrifice of prayer and praise. It was a righteous custom, and produced upon all concerned the happiest effect. It sobered while it encouraged all, from the highest to the lowest, teaching them to feel that the lives of the brave are in the hands of Him who gave them, and that the best preparation which men can make for battle and for death comes out of a humble yet hopeful reliance on the mercy as well as on the power of the Most High.'

On the 21st of January the political agent received a letter from Shah Soojah stating that the British authorities at Cabul had consented to leave the country, and inquiring what were the intentions of the force holding Jellalabad. A council of war was summoned to consider what answer should be returned to this letter. A long and vehement discussion ensued. The members, consisting of the commanding officers of the various bodies of troops composing the brigade, were under the impression that they had been abandoned to their fate by the Government, and, with one exception, were of opinion that they should intimate to the Shah their willingness, on certain specified conditions, to

* The work of Jellalabad garrison was not confined to the strengthening of their own defences; no small part of their labour consisted in the destruction of all the adjoining cover for the enemy, the demolishing of forts and old walls, filling up ravines, destroying gardens, cutting down groves, &c.

evacuate the country. Captain Broadfoot, however, was of a different opinion, and opposed with the utmost vehemence the proposal to capitulate as both ignominious and perilous. After repeated meetings the majority adhered to their resolution, and negotiations were actually commenced with the Shah for the surrender of Jellalabad, and the retreat of the brigade to Peshawur. The negotiations were fortunately protracted, and Broadfoot's views having been ultimately adopted by Colonel Dennie and several other officers, the proposal to withdraw was thrown aside.

The operations of the working parties were nearly completed when, on the 19th of February, the shock of a tremendous earthquake 'undid in an hour all that it had taken the garrison of Jellalabad three months to accomplish. The whole of the parapets, which had been constructed with so much skill and diligence, were thrown down with a fearful crash into heaps of ruins. In the walls breaches were made more accessible than any which the troops found when they first entered the place, and the entire circuit was more or less shaken.' Happily very few lives were lost, and the stores, both of ammunition and salted provisions, sustained no damage.

Akbar Khan had for some weeks previous to this disaster been mustering his followers for the purpose of attacking the town. Great numbers of men had been seen marching from various quarters towards his camp, about six miles distant from Jellalabad; and as he must have speedily received information respecting the havoc which the earthquake had made on the defences, the garrison expected an immediate attack. No man's heart, however, failed him in this extremity; and while taking every precaution against a surprise, they began at once to clear away the rubbish and to fill up the breaches. Such was the energy and perseverance with which they set to work that by the end of the month the parapets were entirely restored, and every battery re-established. The breaches, too, were built up with the rampart doubled in thickness, and the whole of the gates retrenched. Nearly a hundred other shocks took place subsequently, but none inflicted any serious injury on the defences.

For some unexplained reason Akbar Khan did not take advantage of the damage done by the earthquake; he seemed, indeed, to have a great reluctance to run the risk of a hand-to-hand fight with the garrison, and instead of assaulting the town he tried to win it by a blockade. He moved his troops nearer to the place, harassing the foraging parties, and cutting off all communication with the district from which supplies had chiefly been drawn. It was reported that he was attempting to mine the place, and on the morning of the 10th it was discovered that during the night the Afghans had thrown up a number of *sungahs* or breastworks within 200 yards of the ditch, from which a heavy fire of musketry was opened on the garrison. In these circumstances Sale thought it expedient to make a sortie, for the purpose both of ascertaining what the enemy were doing and of destroying their breastworks. Accordingly, on the morning of the 11th, he sent out a strong party of infantry and cavalry, commanded by Colonel Dennie, under cover of the artillery on the ramparts, which inflicted severe loss on the masses of the enemy whenever they attempted to advance. The infantry meanwhile destroyed the *sungahs*, and ascertained that no attempt at mining had been made. As soon as our men prepared to charge the Afghans took to flight, but when the British troops were falling back upon their works, they turned and began to press upon their footsteps. This occurred repeatedly, and in these skirmishes several of our men were wounded, including Captain Broadfoot, who received a musket ball through the thigh; but not a single life was lost on their part, while a considerable number of the enemy were killed.

Skirmishes of this kind were renewed

day by day, with very few casualties among the garrison, who, owing to the scarcity of musket ammunition, were obliged to restrict their operations mainly to the discharges of their artillery, which, however, inflicted great loss on their assailants. Reinforcements continued to pour into Akbar Khan's camp, and in spite of the defeats which his forces sustained in every encounter, they seemed to grow continually bolder in their assaults. Meanwhile provisions began to fail, and forage could not be obtained without the greatest difficulty. No supplies of grain had been received for several weeks, and it was found necessary to put the soldiers on quarter allowance. Sale and Macgregor sent urgent letters to General Pollock, who was stationed at Peshawur, stating the circumstances in which they were placed, and entreating him to advance for their succour. But Pollock was obliged to wait the arrival of the European regiments on their way to Peshawur before he could venture to enter the Khyber Pass. On the 1st of April a gallant sortie made by the garrison had enabled them, besides killing and wounding great numbers of the enemy, with the loss of only one man to themselves, to capture a flock of 500 sheep and goats, which secured them a supply of meat sufficient for ten days. A disquieting rumour, however, reached them on the 5th, that General Pollock had been repulsed with great loss in the Khyber Pass, which seemed to be confirmed by a royal salute fired next day by Akbar Khan's guns in honour of a reported victory.

A council of war was immediately summoned to decide on the course which should be adopted in these circumstances. It was evident that, as both their ammunition and their provisions were nearly exhausted, they could not much longer remain in their present position. It was therefore resolved, mainly by the advice of Captain Havelock —a soldier of pre-eminent abilities and daring—that they should march out next morning and give battle to the enemy. Orders were accordingly issued to pack up baggage, stores, and ammunition, and to keep everything in readiness to move as soon as the way should be cleared by the defeat of the enemy.

The infantry were arranged in three divisions, each consisting of about 500 men. The centre was commanded by Colonel Dennie, the right wing by Captain Havelock, and the left by Lieutenant-colonel Monteith. They were supported by the small cavalry force under Captain Oldfield and Lieutenant Mayne, and by six nine-pounders under the charge of Captain Abbot. Only twelve men were left as a guard at each of the gates, and the camp followers, who in the course of the siege had received some training, were appointed to man the walls.

At daybreak on the morning of the 7th this small but indomitable band marched out of the city by the western gate, to encounter a force of at least 6000 men, who were drawn up in front of their intrenched camp, protected by two or three forts, which constituted their advanced posts. The plan agreed on, as suggested by Havelock, was to pass by these forts in the first instance, and to make a vigorous assault on the Sirdar's camp, and drive its defenders into the Cabul river, which was on the left of his position, and was at the time unfordable. But a flanking fire from one of the forts, in which the enemy were strongly posted, so harassed the 13th Light Infantry that Sir Robert Sale ordered Colonel Dennie to attack it. The breach in the outer wall was practicable, but on rushing through it Dennie, who was leading, was mortally wounded by a musket ball from the inner keep. The loss of this gallant soldier and skilful officer, one of the noblest the British army ever produced, was deeply lamented, and the mistake made by this deviation from the original plan of action had well-nigh lost the battle. Havelock's division, while sweeping round by the river in order to turn the enemy's position, were impetuously assailed by the Afghan horsemen, and more than once were obliged

to form square in order to repel their charge.

The 13th, finding that they had no means of carrying the inner keep of the fort, emerged into the open plain, fortunately in time to join the other divisions in a united and successful attack on the Sirdar's camp. 'The artillery advanced at a gallop,' wrote the general in his despatch, 'and directed a heavy fire upon the Afghan centre, whilst two of the columns of infantry penetrated the line near the same point, and the third forced back its left from its support on the river, into the stream of which some of his horse and foot were driven. The Afghans made repeated attempts to check our advance by a smart fire of musketry, by throwing forward heavy bodies of horse, which twice threatened the detachments of foot under Captain Havelock, and by opening upon us three guns from a battery screened by a garden wall, said to have been served under the personal superintendence of the Sirdar. But in a short time they were dislodged from every point of their position, their cannon taken, and their camp involved in a general conflagration. The battle was over and the enemy in full retreat in the direction of Lughman by about 7 a.m. We have made ourselves masters of two cavalry standards, recaptured four guns lost by the Cabul and Gundamuk forces, the restoration of which to our government is matter of much honest exultation among our troops, seized and destroyed a great quantity of material and ordnance stores, and burnt the whole of the enemy's tents. In short, the defeat of Mahomed Akbar in open field by the troops whom he had boasted of blockading has been complete and signal.' Great multitudes of the fugitives rushed madly into the river and were drowned, and if the British cavalry had been stronger, few would have escaped to tell the tale of that day's overthrow. The British troops lost only three officers and ten men, belonging to the 13th and the 35th Infantry, killed, and about fifty men wounded. But the loss of Colonel Dennie in the prime of life was regarded as irreparable.

The victory of the 7th of April at once raised the siege of Jellalabad, and placed the 'illustrious garrison,' as Lord Ellenborough termed it, in a position of security and comfort. A market was opened outside the gates, and an abundant supply of grain and other provisions was brought in by the country people and disposed of at moderate prices. Meanwhile Pollock was forcing his way from Peshawur through the Khyber Pass, and on the 15th of April his vanguard was at Alee Bogham, within seven miles of the lately beleaguered city, and there he encamped for the night. On the following day the band of the 13th went forth to meet the strangers, and, according to immemorial custom, to play them in. Mr. Gleig says the relieving force marched the last two or three miles towards Jellalabad to the cadence of the Jacobite air, beautiful in itself and full of meaning, and most appropriate for the occasion, 'Oh, but ye've been lang o' comin'!'

During the five months in which Sir Robert Sale and his gallant brigade were keeping the enemy at bay at Jellalabad, various unfortunate and distressing incidents were taking place in other parts of Afghanistan. Colonel Maclaren's brigade had been ordered by General Elphinstone to march at once from Candahar to Cabul, which was then in a state of insurrection. It set out, avowedly against the opinion of General Nott, who commanded at Candahar; but when the snow began to fall Maclaren came to the conclusion that it would be impracticable to force his way to the capital, and ordered the brigade to retrace its steps. The propriety of this step has been questioned on apparently good grounds. There can be no doubt that Maclaren could have forced his way to Cabul, if he had wished to do so. It is possible that the arrival of his force might have saved Elphinstone's army from ruin; but in any case it would have relieved Ghuznee, and have opened the road between

that place and the capital, which would have determined many waverers to side with the British.

Treason and disaffection soon prevailed on every side, and the whole country rose in arms against the detested Feringhees. The Douranee tribes assembled in great numbers in the neighbourhood of Candahar, under the command of Meerza Ahmed, an Afghan chief of rare ability, who alone, says Major Rawlinson, could have so long preserved union among the discordant elements of which his camp was composed. Major Rawlinson, the political agent, and General Nott, were, however, continually on the alert in laying in an ample stock of supplies for the troops in Candahar, in repairing the fortifications, and vigilantly watching the movements of the tribes who were either hostile or of doubtful fidelity.

An order, written nearly two months before, arrived from General Elphinstone on the 21st of February, for the evacuation of Candahar and Khelat-i-Ghilzye, which they at once refused to obey. On the 3rd of March Major Rawlinson expelled the Afghan inhabitants from the city, with the exception of a few peaceful citizens, merchants and tradesmen, who were permitted to remain, but were deprived of their arms. General Nott then marched out (7th of March) with a strong body of troops to give battle to the Douranee tribes, who had for many weeks threatened Candahar. They fell back as he advanced, and thus gradually drew him a considerable distance from the city. They then gave him the slip, and doubling back upon Candahar, made a desperate attack upon the place during the night of the 10th, and had nearly succeeded in carrying it. After a fierce and sanguinary struggle they were at length repulsed, and the return of Nott's forces on the 12th made Candahar secure against any repetition of the assault.

On the 31st of March tidings reached Candahar of the surrender of Ghuznee, the garrison of which had been reduced to great straits; but its fall was largely to be attributed to want of decision on the part of its commandant, Colonel Palmer, and was regarded both as a great disaster and a great discredit. Khelat-i-Ghilzye, however, held bravely out under Captain John Halkett Craigie; and General Nott and Major Rawlinson continued gallantly and successfully to maintain their ground against the insurgent tribes of Western Afghanistan.

Nott became impatient for assistance from Hindostan, and General England, whose incapacity and want of energy fitted him for the company of the military authorities at Cabul, received orders to march to Candahar with a strong force, composed of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, carrying with him an ample supply of money, ammunition, and medicine. He left Quettah on the 22nd of March, but on reaching, on the 28th, the entrance of a defile which leads to the village of Hykulzye, a body of the enemy disputed his progress, and repulsed the troops sent forward to clear the way. They soon rallied, and were eager again to be led to the attack, but the general at once determined to retreat, and led back his force to Quettah. This retrograde movement was productive of serious mischief, and tended greatly to encourage the enemy. England remained a whole month at Quettah, dwelling on the difficulties and dangers of a forward movement, until at last an imperious and indignant mandate from Nott compelled the sluggish and incompetent general once more to make a forward movement. The enemy had taken up the position which they had previously occupied before Hykulzye, apparently confident of another success; but they were driven from it on the 28th of April with great ease by the British infantry, supported by artillery. At the entrance of the Kojuk Pass, on the 30th, General England halted his brigade, dismounted from his horse, called for a chair, and sat himself down. The urgent remonstrances of his officers utterly failed to induce him to move. Meanwhile the Candahar troops,

under Colonel Wymer, were assailing at the other end the enemy who held the pass on that side; and it was not until they had completely cleared the way and crowned the heights with their bayonets, that the Quettah brigade was allowed to move on. The junction of the two brigades kept the Afghans in subjection and the country quiet, and indeed a number of the chiefs were now eager to make terms with the British.

The tidings of the terrible disasters which had overtaken our troops at Cabul appear to have completely overwhelmed the Governor-general. He seems to have previously had misgivings as to the policy of the course he had been induced to pursue; but he now became fully alive to its folly and injustice, when the edifice which he had striven to rear, and for which he had been honoured and rewarded, fell in hopeless ruin to the ground. He was well aware that his occupation of Afghanistan had met with the strong disapproval throughout of the Directors of the East India Company, and had been most oppressive to the people of India. His political friends who had appointed him to the position of Viceroy were now out of office, and the Conservative party, who had assumed the reins of government, had declared themselves hostile to his Afghan policy. He was now awaiting the arrival of his successor, who had intimated before leaving England that he would not be disposed to carry out any of Lord Auckland's plans. These considerations seem to have completely bewildered and paralyzed the Governor-general, and he could not make up his mind to follow any well-defined and resolute policy, or to take any adequate measures for the relief of Sale's brigade and the rescue of the captives who were in the hands of Akbar Khan. The Commander-in-chief, Sir Jasper Nicolls, and he differed in opinion respecting the proper person to take the command of the relieving army. Lord Auckland proposed to appoint Major-general Lumley, who wanted physical health and strength necessary for such a trying service, and his medical advisers declared that he was totally unequal to 'meet the required exertion and exposure' demanded by such a campaign. The Commander-in-chief on this at once determined to nominate General George Pollock, an old and distinguished Company's officer, to the command of the troops proceeding to Peshawur. The appointment of this experienced, sagacious, and conscientious soldier to this critical post gave universal satisfaction, and the result fully vindicated the sound judgment displayed by Sir Jasper Nicolls in selecting him for this service.

Meanwhile a detachment of native infantry, consisting of four regiments, with a single troop of irregulars, but without any artillery, under Brigadier Wild, had been sent forward to Peshawur, and were instructed to borrow half a dozen guns from the Sikhs. Wild's difficulties were as formidable as his means were slender. His orders were to force the Khyber Pass, but the Sikh soldiers mutinied and marched back to Peshawur; and the Sepoys, demoralized by their intercourse with these mutineers, lost heart, and when met by the Afghans at the entrance of the pass, huddled together in confusion and dismay, and refused to advance. To crown this disaster, the fort of Ali-Musjid, which lies five miles within the entrance, and has always been regarded as the key to the pass, was abandoned by the garrison, composed of a detachment of a local corps who had been left without an adequate supply of provisions and water, and without bedding or tools; and this important post was allowed to fall into the hands of the enemy. The blame of this mismanaged and dispiriting affair seems to have mainly rested with Mr. George Clerk, one of the political officials, and the Commander-in-chief. General Pollock, however, on his arrival at Peshawur, by a union of kindness and firmness, gradually restored the courage and confidence of the Sepoys, and made them willing to follow him in the most difficult and daring enterprises. But he was compelled,

most reluctantly, to wait inactive for several months, until the requisite reinforcements from the Punjaub had joined him; and though Sale and Macgregor were writing urgent letters, calling upon him to push on without delay, he was still unable to move.

Lord Ellenborough, the new Governor-general, landed at Calcutta on the 28th of February, 1842. He found that the last letter written to General Pollock, four days before, by the administration of his predecessor, had given clear and positive directions that our troops should be withdrawn from Jellalabad. Lord Ellenborough's first public document of any importance was a letter to the Commander-in-chief, dated the 15th of March, in which he declared that the British Government was no longer compelled 'to peril its armies, and with its armies the Indian empire,' in support of the Tripartite Treaty. Its efforts should, in the first instance, be directed to secure the safety of its troops now in the field, and then to the re-establishment of our military reputation by the infliction of some signal and decisive blow upon the Afghans. On the 6th of April the Viceroy left Calcutta for the frontier, and by the time he reached Benares, he had so completely changed his mind that he had sent orders to withdraw the garrison of Khelat-i-Ghilzye and evacuate Candahar, although he had now learned that Pollock had forced his way through the Khyber Pass to Ali-Musjid, and that Sale had defeated Akbar Khan in a general action on the plains of Jellalabad. The repulse which the incompetent General England had encountered at Hykulzye seems to have had a very dispiriting effect on the impulsive mind of the Viceroy, and to have produced this revulsion of feeling and change of plan. But his Lordship, under this depression of mind, seems to have lost sight both of sound policy and right feeling, and to have totally forgotten the claims of 'the generals who had commanded our army at Cabul—the widow of the murdered Envoy—the brave-hearted wife of the commander of the illustrious garrison of Jellalabad—the man who had rescued Herat from the grasp of the Persian, and done the only thing that had yet been done to roll back from the gates of India the tide of Western invasion—with many more brave officers and tender women who were captives in the rude fortresses of the Afghan Sirdars.'

The generals who were directed to withdraw from Afghanistan in this ignominious manner expressed their deep regret at this proceeding, though prepared to obey the positive orders which they had received. But the Governor-general seems to have gradually recovered his equanimity of mind, which had been so rudely shaken by General England's disaster. Remonstrances against the proposal to withdraw the troops in this summary manner were received from various influential quarters, especially from Captain Outram, the 'Bayard of India.' Pollock could not retire at once from Jellalabad, as he had not the means of retiring to Peshawur. Rawlinson declared that as soon as the intended retirement of the troops from Candahar was made known the whole country would be up in arms, and they would be obliged to abandon all their baggage and stores. After a number of wavering and inconsistent documents had been issued, Pollock received a constructive permission to remain at Jellalabad until October, and hints were given to that general that it was possible he might find it necessary to advance upon and occupy the city of Cabul, and inflict some severe blow on the Afghan army. Lord Ellenborough's 'inglorious and degrading' proposal to withdraw our troops, and leave the prisoners in the hands of the Afghans to their fate, had been condemned by the almost universal voice, not only of the chief civil and military officers, but of the Anglo-Indian community at large, and, as the Viceroy now learned, was disapproved both by the Ministry and the people of Great Britain. He therefore resolved to alter his policy while professing to adhere to it. In order to preserve his apparent consistency he recommended

Pollock and Nott to advance further into the heart of the Afghan dominions, but to regard this forward movement solely in the light of a withdrawal from the country. General Nott might, if he thought fit, retire from Candahar to the provinces of India by the circuitous route of Ghuznee, Cabul, and Jellalabad; and General Pollock might advance upon Cabul in order to facilitate the retreat of the troops from Candahar.

The two generals having obtained in this peculiar way the authority which they required, though it threw the whole responsibility upon their own shoulders, lost no time in carrying out their plans with energy and expedition. The 'illustrious garrison' of Jellalabad had suffered severely from sickness—the result partly of the heat, from which they had no adequate shelter, partly of their long inactivity. At length, on the 6th of August, Sale was instructed to push on with his brigade to Futtehabad, on the road to Cabul, sixteen miles from Jellalabad, where they remained encamped for three weeks. On the 21st they were joined by a second division, accompanied by the Commander-in-chief in person, and the remainder of the force came up on the 25th, under Brigadier Monteith. The Ghilzies defended their mountain passes bravely and dexterously, but were driven from post to post with considerable loss. The remains of Elphinstone's army, which strewed the way, especially at Gundamuk, Jugdulluck, Tizeen, and Koord Cabul, excited mingled feelings of grief and horror in the minds of the soldiers, combined with a a desire of revenge, which they had ample opportunities of gratifying. At the summit of the Huft Kothul, between Tizeen and Koord Cabul, the Afghans made a most determined stand, but were defeated with great slaughter. The whole summit of the hill, as well as the slope beyond it and the road and the declivities leading down to it, were strewed with the bodies of the slain.

The decisive victory gained by the British troops in the battle of Tizeen brought to a close the struggle of the Afghans in defence of their country. Along the line of march from Jellalabad to the capital the forts of the chiefs had been burned, and their trees and property of every kind destroyed. Akbar Khan, who saw that it was useless to make any further attempt to save Cabul, fled towards the Hindoo Koosh, carrying with him the greater number of his prisoners, and his routed army was scattered in hopeless confusion over the mountains, seeking safety in recesses remote from the tract of the dreaded Feringhees. Pollock and his victorious troops pursued their march without further molestation, and on the 15th of September they encamped on the race-course of Cabul.

Whilst General Pollock was thus fighting his way to the capital, General Nott was making an equally victorious march from Candahar. Before setting out, his troops had been assailed as well by the Ghilzies as by the Douranee chiefs, on both of whom they had inflicted a crushing defeat. A portion of the Candahar force was sent to Quettah, and the remainder, under General Nott, set out on their return to India, as Lord Ellenborough had indicated they might do, by the route of Ghuznee, Cabul, and Jellalabad. On the 7th of August they evacuated Candahar, and commenced their march to the northward. A repulse, which was met with at the outset by a squadron of the 3d Bombay Cavalry, encouraged the enemy to assail the force on their march, and led to an encounter in which terrible and unwarrantable vengeance was inflicted on the inhabitants of some fortified villages who had fired upon our soldiers. On the 5th of September the army reached Ghuznee, which had been deserted by the greater part of its garrison, and was captured without difficulty. The town and citadel were burned to ashes, the fortifications were blown up, the enemy's guns burst, and the whole place was left a mass of ruins.

The far-famed sandal-wood gates, or supposed gates of Somnauth, which the Sultan Mahmoud had carried off from Guzerat,

were deposited at the conqueror's tomb, in the vicinity of Ghuznee. Major Rawlinson, on examining the inscriptions on these gates, detected unmistakable proofs that they belonged to a much more recent period than that ascribed to them—that, in short, they were not really the gates of Somnauth at all. But among the people, and especially the priesthood of Afghanistan, their genuineness was undoubted; and the Governor-general himself entertained the same conviction. Accordingly when, on the 4th of July, Lord Ellenborough wrote to General Nott, authorizing him to retire by the route of Ghuznee and Cabul, he said, 'You will bring away with you, from the tomb of Mahmoud of Ghuznee, his club, which hangs over it; and you will bring away the gates of his tomb, which are the gates of the Temple of Somnauth.' This order was, of course, obeyed, and on the 8th of September these celebrated trophies were carried off by a party of British soldiers, amid the tears and lamentations of the Moollahs. Great care, however, was taken to preserve the venerable shrine itself from desecration.

After leaving Ghuznee the Candahar brigade pursued their march without molestation until they reached the vicinity of Mydan, where Shumshooden Khan and Sultan Jan had resolved to make their last stand for the defence of the capital, behind some breastworks which they had thrown up at the gorge of the hills. The conflict which ensued was unusually stubborn, and the result was doubtful, for though the British troops carried the heights, they were obliged to abandon them. But news of the defeat of Akbar Khan at Tizeen reached the chiefs at this juncture, and it was discovered next morning that they had quitted the position which they had held so resolutely, and moved off to Urgundeh, a place a few miles nearer Cabul. The Afghans, however, harassed our troops severely on their march, but were driven off with great slaughter, and fire was set to all their forts which lay alongside of the way. On the 17th of September Nott's division encamped within four or five miles of the capital, which they now found was already in possession of the force under General Pollock, who had planted the British standard upon the walls of the Balla Hissar.

Cabul, when it was re-entered by the British, was without a ruler. Shah Soojah's rule, after the departure of General Elphinstone's army, was merely nominal. The chiefs treated him as a puppet, whom they kept on the throne to serve their own purposes; but they paid him no real obedience or respect. Dissensions broke out among them, and they mutually suspected each other's fidelity. The Shah had hoarded a large sum of money, but refused to part with any of it to furnish ammunition and provisions for an army to oppose the march of General Pollock's forces through the Khyber Pass, though he professed his intention to place himself at the head of his troops and march down upon Jellalabad. He was at length assassinated on the 5th of April by one of the Barukzye Sirdars, named Soojah-ool-dowlah, and his body, stripped of its royal robes and jewels, was cast into a ditch.

On the death of the Shah, Futteh Jung, his second son, was proclaimed king by some of the most powerful of the chiefs, but his rule, like that of his father, was merely nominal. A civil war broke out in the capital, the mutual jealousies of the chiefs prevented them from co-operating cordially in any line of policy, and while they were intriguing against each other and against their puppet sovereign, Akbar Khan arrived at Cabul. Negotiations for a peaceful distribution of office and power among the rival Sirdars came to nothing, and Akbar Khan at length laid siege to the Balla Hissar. By bribing the garrison rather than by vigorous military operations, he at length obtained possession of the citadel and of the person of Futteh Jung, who had meanwhile been making earnest appeals to General Pollock to march to his relief. He ultimately made his escape from the capital,

and, in tattered clothes and the most wretched condition, found refuge in the British camp at Gundamuk.

When General Pollock took possession of the Afghan capital, Futteh Jung returned under his protection and claimed the throne. It was thought necessary that a government of some sort should be established, and that prince was therefore allowed to take up his residence in the Balla Hissar, and was formally installed as king in the presence of Generals Pollock and M'Caskill. The Kuzzilbash and Douranee chiefs were recommended to tender their allegiance to him. He was distinctly warned, however, that he need not look for assistance in men, money, or arms from the British Government, but must rely entirely on his own resources.

There was another matter of much greater interest and importance to the British Generals than the installation of a claimant to the Afghan throne—viz., the rescue of the prisoners in the hands of Akbar Khan. They had been carried from place to place at the will of their captor, had suffered severe hardships and privations, and had been exposed to great dangers. Poor old General Elphinstone, worn out with bodily disease and mental anguish, aggravated by the hardships to which he had been subjected, had died about the end of April, and his body was sent by Akbar Khan to be interred at Jellalabad.* The greater part of the other captives had been hurried off towards the regions of Hindoo Koosh, and General Pollock, in great alarm lest they should be carried to hopeless slavery in Turkestan, at once despatched his military secretary, Sir Richmond Shakespear, with a party of 600 Kuzzilbash Horse, to rescue them from their captors. There was considerable danger, however, that this party might be intercepted by the enemy, and it was judged expedient to send a strong detachment of British troops to support them. As the Candahar division was ten miles nearer than Pollock's to Bameean, where Akbar was last heard of, it was thought desirable that Nott should send a detachment of his men, in order that no time might be lost. The officers of his own division had twice before suggested this step to Nott, but had met with a surly refusal. He considered, he said, that the recovery of the prisoners was a matter of indifference to the Government, and he would take no steps in regard to it. When, therefore, Lieutenant Mayne came to the camp with a letter from General Pollock, who, as senior officer, had assumed the supreme command, suggesting that a brigade from the Candahar division should be sent to assist the recovery of the prisoners, the ill-tempered and wrong-headed commander broke out on the officer in the most furious manner, and loaded him with the most abusive epithets. He could not venture, however, to reply in this style to the courteous letter of his superior officer; and he sent a written reply, containing various excuses for declining the service, to which no one but himself attached any weight. As he excused himself on the plea of illness from visiting Pollock in his camp, that officer, with his characteristic courtesy and forbearance, waived the distinction of his superior rank, and called upon the Candahar General. But Nott doggedly adhered to his resolution. Government, he said, 'had thrown the prisoners overboard; why, then, should he rescue them? He would obey the orders of his superior officer, but only under protest.' Pollock, wisely con-

* 'After all that has been written of his deficiencies in Cabul, it may seem a startling inconsistency to say that he was a brave and high-minded gentleman. Not upon him, but upon those who are responsible for his appointment to high military command at such a time and in such a place—first, upon those who sent him to India; secondly and chiefly, upon those who sent him to Afghanistan—must we fix the shame of his first miscarriage. When he consented to leave the quiet enjoyment of an honoured old age at home to carry his good fame and his broken constitution to a distant Indian Presidency, he committed a fatal error, for which he made terrible atonement. But there are few who will not pity rather than condemn the man who found himself suddenly, with all his weakness upon him, in a sea of difficulty which demanded almost superhuman strength to buffet through it.'—*History of the War in Afghanistan*, iii., 233.

cluding that obedience tendered in such a spirit was not likely to be very cordial or successful, left Nott to his own ill humour and the discredit which he deservedly earned by his selfish and unfeeling conduct, and delegated to the hero of Jellalabad—a man of a very different stamp—the duty which Nott had so obstinately and churlishly declined to discharge. There seems to have been some fatality operating in connection with this whole Afghan war, by virtue of which so much that is ignoble is mingled even with its most brilliant incidents.

Sir Robert Sale made all haste to perform the duty intrusted to him, and at the head of a brigade from his Jellalabad veterans pushed on after Shakespear and the Kuzzilbashes. But the release of the prisoners had already been providentially effected, just as they were on the eve of being carried into a region whither the foot of European never could have followed. They had been hurried away towards the wild rugged regions of the Indian Caucasus, had travelled by ever-ascending mountain passes, under a scorching sun by day and piercing cold by night, until they reached Bameean, thousands of feet above the level of the sea, where they were confined in a wretched fort, amid squalor and filth, and destitute of every comfort. Their escort of 300 men was commanded by Saleh Mahomed, a chief of the tribe of Hazarees, who had served under various masters, but was at present attached to the cause of Akbar Khan. An intimacy had sprung up between him and Captain Johnson, one of the prisoners, who cautiously sounded him as to his willingness, in return for a large reward, to convey them to the British camp. On reaching Bameean, the chief informed them that he had received a message from Mohun Lal, to the effect that if he would release the prisoners General Pollock would insure him a life pension of 1000 rupees a month, and make him a present of 20,000 rupees; and he offered to Johnson, Pottinger, and Lawrence, that if they would solemnly bind themselves by a written agreement to make good this promise, he would deliver them over to their own people. The offer was at once accepted, and the bond written out on the 11th of September, and signed by all the officers and the ladies. As they were not without apprehensions that they might be attacked by some of the confederate chiefs in the neighbourhood, they set about strengthening the defences of their fort; but on the 15th they received the welcome news of Akbar Khan's total defeat at Tizeen, and his flight no one knew whither. They resolved immediately to set out for Cabul, and next morning started on their journey. About noon on the 17th they met Sir Richmond Shakespear and the Kuzzilbashes hastening to their rescue; and on the 20th, when they were approaching Urghundeh, which was to be their halting-place, they saw a large body of cavalry and infantry approaching, which proved to be the column commanded by Sale. In a brief space the delighted and grateful veteran embraced his heroic wife and widowed daughter amid the cordial congratulations of his faithful soldiers. 'Our joy,' says one of the rescued prisoners, 'was too great, too overwhelming for tongue to utter.' The royal salute which was fired from the horse artillery that had come to their relief called echoes from the distant hills, which seemed an expression of the thankfulness that filled the hearts of the rescued captives, and a presage of the joy which their recovery diffused not only in the camps of Pollock and Nott, but throughout the provinces of India and the whole of the British dominions.

The fate of the English captives—Colonel Henry Stoddart and Captain Arthur Conolly—in Bokhara was unfortunately very different. The former had been despatched to the Persian camp in 1838 to insist that the Shah must abandon the siege of Herat, and was sent subsequently by the Government to Bokhara to negotiate a treaty with the Ameer of that country,

who proved to be a cruel, capricious, half-mad tyrant. He received Stoddart favourably at first; but afterwards became suspicious of the designs of the British Government, and threw him into prison. In the autumn of 1840 Captain Conolly started from Cabul on a mission to Khiva and Kokund. He had subsequently, on the invitation of the Ameer, proceeded to Bokhara in November, 1841. He was from the first regarded with suspicion. The Ameer shortly after Conolly's arrival received from the Foreign Secretary a reply to the letter which he had written to our Queen, referring him to the Governor-general of India. He regarded this answer as an affront; and when in a few days intelligence was received of the outbreak at Cabul, the savage tyrant, professing to regard the British officers as spies, treated them with the most shocking barbarities. Their sufferings from cold, rags and vermin, and fever were frightful, and reduced them to a state of the greatest debility. Strenuous efforts were made to obtain their release; but a letter from Lord Ellenborough, appealing to the clemency of the Ameer, and describing the two officers as 'innocent travellers,' thus repudiating their official character, is believed to have sealed their fate. They were still alive on the 17th of April, 1842, when the Russian mission quitted Bokhara. The precise period of their death cannot with certainty be ascertained, but there can be no doubt that they were put to death by the orders of the Ameer.

The time agreed on for the return of the British forces to India was now at hand; but before their departure it was deemed necessary to 'fix upon Cabul some lasting mark of the just retribution of an outraged nation.' General Nott, who was in ill humour with himself and with everyone, would, if he had been permitted, have destroyed both the Balla Hissar and the city. His Sepoys and camp followers had been allowed to commit extensive depredations on the lands and villages near his camp, and had thus done much to alarm and irritate the chiefs whom Pollock had tried to conciliate. Against all such plunderings and outrages Pollock set his face, though he took care to punish those hostile chiefs who were taking measures to annoy the troops on their homeward march. A detachment under General M'Caskill was despatched to scatter the Afghan force collected at Istaliff, a town built upon two ridges of the spur of the Hindoo Koosh. The Afghans thought it impregnable, and had deposited there their treasure and their women as in a place of perfect security. After a smart but brief struggle it was carried by our troops, and given up to plunder. Istaliff had been the centre of a district which, during the troubles of 1841, had been conspicuous for the cruel and treacherous conduct of its chief and people to the British, having assassinated Captain Codrington and Lieutenant Rattray while living peacefully among them, and killed the followers of Eldred Pottinger, who himself narrowly escaped, covered with wounds. It was therefore resolved to inflict signal vengeance both on the place and the people. The castle and the houses were accordingly burned down; and gardens, vineyards, orchards, and every article that could not be carried away, were ruthlessly destroyed.

On the return of M'Caskill's expedition to Cabul, it became necessary to decide what was to be done with that city. Futteh Jung, the weak yet tyrannical prince who had, with fear and trembling, kept his place upon his tottering throne until now, declared that he would not remain in the country after the departure of the British army. The chiefs of the Persian party in this emergency selected the Prince Shapoor, a younger brother of Futteh Jung, to occupy the vacant throne; and at their urgent request General Pollock agreed to spare the Balla Hissar, as a place of residence and safety for the youthful ruler. But he blew up with gunpowder

and completely destroyed, the great bazaar, the pride and chief ornament of the city, in retribution for the insults there offered by the Afghans to the mutilated remains of the murdered Envoy. The mosque which Akbar Khan had built to commemorate the destruction of the British army, was levelled with the ground. The houses of the chiefs were also burned, and the city gates were blown up. Every effort was made to save the rest of the city from destruction, but it is not denied that many excesses were committed by the Sepoys and camp followers, and that not only great numbers of the Afghan inhabitants, but many unoffending Hindoos also, who, in reliance on the protection of the British, had returned to the city and reopened their shops, were plundered and ruined.

Having thus, in accordance with Lord Ellenborough's instructions, inflicted such a blow upon the guilty city, as 'would make its inhabitants long remember his parting effort,' General Pollock set out on his return to India. He carried with him not only the unhappy prince, Futteh Jung, and the old blind king Zemaun Shah, along with the family of Shah Soojah, but also multitudes of the destitute Hindoos whom Nott—true to his character—had expelled from his camp, and a large number of the miserable, mutilated natives of India, crippled by wounds or by the frost, who had escaped with their lives from the great wreck of Elphinstone's army. Pollock's force moved by divisions—his own, to which Sale's brigade was attached, leading. He threaded the passes without seeing an enemy, but M'Caskill and Nott, who followed with the centre and rear, lost some of their baggage and a few of their men through the desultory attacks of the native tribes. The entire force remained a few days at Jellalabad, and the defences of that city were razed to the ground. On the 19th of December General Pollock crossed the Sutlej, and Nott followed on the 23rd, bringing with him the gates of Somnauth. A magnificent reception was given to the victorious armies by the Governor-general in person; and the festivities which followed were closed with a grand military display, in which 40,000 men were manœuvred on the great plain of Ferozepore in the presence of the Governor-general, the Commander-in-chief, and a number of native princes.

Lord Ellenborough was so elated by the capture of the gates of Somnauth that he resolved to communicate tidings of the achievement to the different Governments and to the people of India in a magniloquent proclamation, which, after a long and careful preparation, was translated into the Persian and Hindoo languages, and was finally published in its English form on the 16th of November. It ran thus:—

'From the Governor-general to all the Princes, and Chiefs, and People of India.

'My Brothers and my Friends,

'Our victorious army bears the gates of the Temple of Somnauth in triumph from Afghanistan, and the despoiled tomb of Sultan Mahmoud looks upon the ruins of Ghuznee.

'The insult of eight hundred years is at last avenged. The gates of the Temple of Somnauth, so long the memorial of your humiliation, are become the proudest record of your national glory, the proof of your superiority in arms over the nations beyond the Indus. To you, Princes and Chiefs of Sirhind, of Rajwarra, of Malwa, and of Guzerat, I shall commit this glorious trophy of successful war. You will yourselves, with all honour, transmit the gates of sandal-wood through your respective territories to the restored Temple of Somnauth. The chiefs of Sirhind shall be informed at what time our victorious army will first deliver the gates of the temple into their guardianship at the foot of the bridge of the Sutlej.

'I have ever relied with confidence upon your attachment to the British Government. You see how worthy it proves itself of your love when, regarding your honour as its own, it exerts the power of its arms to

restore to you the gates of the Temple of Somnauth, so long the memorial of your subjection to the Afghans.'

This extraordinary State paper brought down a torrent of ridicule, not unmingled with indignation, on the head of its vainglorious author. Its folly was denounced on all sides; it was declared in Parliament by the Opposition to be 'unwise, indecorous, and reprehensible,' and even the Ministers who had sent Lord Ellenborough to India did not venture to defend it. It was a gross insult to the religion of the Mohammedans, and an act of unseemly homage to the Hindoos; while taking away the gates of a Mohammedan mosque, to offer them solemnly as a gift to a Pagan temple, was branded as a moral crime and a political blunder. Those who did not attach so much importance to this foolish proceeding ridiculed the bombastic style of the document, pointed out that the gates after all were not genuine, and that the temple which they were intended to adorn was in ruins. The act had no political importance, but it seriously injured the reputation and usefulness of the Governor-general himself.

Lord Ellenborough had previously issued at Simla another proclamation, declaring that the Governor-general would leave it to the Afghans themselves to create a government, and would readily recognize any government approved by them which should appear desirous and capable of maintaining friendly relations with the neighbouring States. In a short space of time the youthful Prince Shahpoor had to flee for safety to Peshawur, and narrowly escaped with his life. Dost Mahomed could no longer, either with justice or expediency, be kept a prisoner of State. He was therefore set at liberty, and along with all other Afghans then in the hands of the British Government, was permitted to return to his own country. 'Everything,' it was significantly said, 'is reverting to the old state of things, as it was before we entered the country.' The Dost resumed his former sovereignty, from which he had for four years been excluded, at the cost of many thousands of lives, and £15,000,000 of money which India was compelled most unjustly to pay. But this return to a just and judicious policy could not undo the evil that had been done, or remove the bitter and vindictive feelings which the Afghan expedition had kindled in the minds of the native tribes. It is much to the credit of Dost Mahomed that, unmindful of the wrongs which he had suffered, he entered in 1852 into a treaty of general alliance with our Government in India; and in 1856, when Persia had besieged and taken Herat, the key of the 'Gate of India,' our Ministry, instead of marching an army against Dost Mahomed, supplied him with money and arms to repel the common foe—the policy which ought to have been followed in 1837. Thus Herat was evacuated, and all claims of sovereignty relinquished by the Persian Shah.

The Afghan expedition, begun for a purpose as unwise as it was unjust, carried on with an almost incredible mixture of rashness, folly, and imbecility, was brought to a close after unparalleled suffering and disaster, at an enormous waste of blood and treasure. Its failure is one of the most awful and instructive lessons to be found in the annals of the world. It was utterly unjust, and therefore it was signally disastrous. 'It was, in principle and in act, an unrighteous usurpation, and the curse of God was on it from the first. The grand lesson to be learned from the contemplation of all the circumstances of the Afghan wars is, "The Lord God of recompenses shall surely requite."' It is sad and surprising that a class of British statesmen should have come into power, after the lapse of nearly forty years, by whom this lesson was either forgotten or contemned, and that another expedition should have been sent by them into Afghanistan for the same purpose, which met with a similar unsuccessful though not equally disastrous result.

CHAPTER XIX.

Composition of the New Ministry—Difficulties of their position—Sir Robert Peel's improvement of the Corn Laws, and his New Tariff and Income Tax—Settlement of the Law of Copyright—Lord Ashley's Bill for the Protection of Women and Children in Mines and Collieries—Shocking disclosures respecting their treatment—Public feeling on the subject—The Bill becomes Law—Bribery and Corruption at the General Election of 1841—Compromises of petitions—Lord John Russell's Anti-bribery Bill—Legal Reforms—Attacks upon the person of the Queen—Alteration of the Law of Treason for her protection—Want of Education in England—Sir James Graham's Factory Bill—Opposition to its Education Clauses—They are abandoned by the Ministry—Bill for Regulating the Labour of Children and Young Persons employed in Factories—Agitation for the Repeal of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland—O'Connell's Monster Meetings and Violent Language—The Clontarf Meeting prohibited by the Government—O'Connell's arrest, trial, and condemnation—The judgment reversed by the House of Lords.

THE new Ministry, with Sir Robert Peel at its head, was strong both in talent and in official experience, combining the deserters from the Whig Administration with the old Tory leaders. Lyndhurst became once more Lord Chancellor, and Goulbourn Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sir James Graham, whose administrative abilities were of a high order, was made Home Secretary; Lord Stanley obtained the seals of the Colonial Office; and the Earl of Aberdeen was nominated Foreign Secretary. Lord Wharncliffe was appointed President of the Council, the Earl of Haddington First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Ellenborough President of the Board of Control, Sir Henry Hardinge Secretary at War, the Earl of Ripon ('Prosperity Robinson') President of the Board of Trade, Lord Eliot Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the Duke of Wellington consented to be a member of the Cabinet without office. The Duke of Buckingham as Lord Privy Seal, and Sir Edward Knatchbull as Paymaster-general, were appointed to office, not on account of their own qualifications or personal claims, but simply as representatives of the agricultural interest. Of the members of the Administration who were not in the Cabinet, Lord Lowther, the Postmaster-general, was noted for his shrewdness and his imperious temper, and Mr. W. E. Gladstone, Vice-president of the Board of Trade, though a very young man, was already known as an accomplished scholar and an eloquent speaker. Sir Frederick Pollock, the Attorney-general (brother of the distinguished General Pollock), and Sir W. N. Follett, the Solicitor-general, were eminent lawyers, and so especially was Sir Edward Sugden, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, of which Earl de Grey was Lord Lieutenant. Lord Lincoln and Mr. Sidney Herbert, young men of great promise, held subordinate offices in the Ministry. The difficulty respecting the Household, which had frustrated Peel's attempt to form a Government in 1839, was easily surmounted. The Prince Consort, early in 1841, when the dissolution of the Melbourne Ministry was evidently not far off, opened a communication with Peel, and arranged that, in the event of a change of Government, three great Whig ladies who were at the head of the Household should, of their own accord, resign their offices. The Duchesses of Sutherland and Bedford, and the Marchioness of Normanby, accordingly retired when Lord Melbourne left office, and were replaced by ladies who enjoyed the confidence of the new Premier.

Although the new Administration contained a large proportion of men of great ability and experience, including the greatest statesman and the most illustrious general of the age, and were supported by large majorities in both Houses of Parliament, their position was beset with serious difficulties. They had to deal with a deficient revenue, great excitement and agitation

on the subject of the Corn Laws, increasing dissension between the agricultural and manufacturing interests, general depression of trade and consequent distress among the working classes. It was evident that the resources of statesmanship would be tasked to the utmost to allay the popular discontent, and to provide remedial measures for a deficient revenue and manufacturing and commercial depression, without exciting dissatisfaction among the agricultural party, who were the mainstay of the Government. Time was imperatively required to enable the Premier to consider deliberately and carefully the circumstances of the country, and to mature the measures of relief which he had undertaken to submit to the Legislature. Accordingly, after the estimates had been passed, and all the business of immediate urgency despatched, the Parliament was prorogued on the 7th of October, 1841, and did not meet again until the 3rd of February, 1842.

The session was opened on the day mentioned by the Queen in person, and Her Majesty was accompanied by the King of Prussia, who had made a visit to England for the purpose of standing sponsor at the baptism of the infant Prince of Wales, born on the 9th of the previous November. The address was agreed to after considerable discussion, but without a division. On the 9th of February Sir Robert Peel laid before the House the plan which he had prepared for the alteration of the Corn Laws, but we must defer a description of its nature and reception until we come to give a history of the Anti-Corn-Law League. Suffice it to say at present that it was carried through both Houses, as originally submitted to the House, by large majorities; none of the amendments proposed, either by the agricultural party on the one hand, or by the Free-Trade leaders on the other, having been adopted. The new Tariff and the Income Tax Bills were carried through Parliament with equal facility. The existing sugar duties were continued for one year, in spite of vigorous efforts to obtain their reduction and to equalize foreign and colonial duties. Motions brought forward in both Houses for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the national distress were rejected. The refusal to take into consideration the sufferings of the people no doubt contributed to strengthen the Chartist agitation at this time; and a petition alleged to be signed by upwards of three millions of men (though the real number was undoubtedly much less), praying for the enactment of the six points of the Chartist creed, was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Duncombe, who moved that the petitioners should be heard at the Bar of the House in support of their claims, but found only forty-nine supporters.

A measure of great importance was passed this session for settling the law of literary property. An Act was passed in 1710 securing to an author the copyright of his writings for twenty-one years from the day of publication for works already in print, and fourteen years for all works to be published after that date—the latter term being once renewable if the author should be alive at the end of the first fourteen years. Sergeant Talfourd had attempted in three successive sessions to pass a new Copyright Act, but had always been baffled. He was now no longer a member of the House, but the question was taken up by Lord Mahon, who proposed that the right to literary property should be extended to twenty-five years. The Bill, which was brought forward in 1841, was rejected by a few votes, mainly through the influence of Mr. Macaulay; and Talfourd, in the bitterness of his soul, exclaimed that Literature's own familiar friend, in whom she trusted, and who had eaten of her bread, had lifted up his heel against her. Macaulay, however, was not opposed to the principle of protection to literary work, but only to the mode in which it was proposed to be effected, as he showed in a most powerful and interesting speech when a new bill was introduced by Lord Mahon. There were various considerations which induced the Legislature

to regard with favour at this time the proposal to perform this long-delayed act of justice. As Miss Martineau remarked, 'The family of Sir Walter Scott, stripped by his great losses, might be supposed to have an honourable provision in his splendid array of works, which the world was still buying as eagerly as ever; but the copyright of "Waverley" was about to expire, and there was no one who could not see the injustice of transferring to the public a property so evidently sacred to heirs.' The poet Wordsworth was far advanced in years, and was only now, after the lapse of half a century, finding his writings appreciated and purchased by a generation whom he had trained to enjoy his poetry; but his death would have at once deprived his family of all benefit from the sale of his best works. Southey had declared that the existing state of the law of copyright made it impossible for him to undertake again works of research like his 'History of Brazil,' or epic poems like 'Madoc' and 'Roderick.' But there was nothing that had greater influence on the sympathies of the House than the characteristic petition of Thomas Carlyle, which, though presented to the House in 1839, was prominently referred to by the supporters of the proposed new copyright measure. This remarkable document, which proceeded from 'Thomas Carlyle, a writer of books,' began by humbly showing 'That your petitioner has written certain books, being incited thereto by certain innocent and laudable considerations, chiefly by the thought that said books might in the end be found worth something.' It proceeded to state that he had not had the happiness to receive from any body of men 'any encouragement or countenance in writing of said books, or to discern any chance of receiving such, but wrote them by effort of his own and the favour of heaven; that all useful labour is worthy of recompense; that all honest labour is worthy of the chance of recompense; that your petitioner does not undertake to say what recompense in money this labour of his may deserve; whether it deserve any recompense in money, or whether money in any quantity could hire him to do the like; that this his labour has found hitherto in money or money's worth small recompense or none; that he is by no means sure of its ever finding recompense, but thinks that if so it will be at a distant time when he, the labourer, will probably no longer be in need of money, and those dear to him will still be in need of it; that the law does at least protect all persons in selling the production of their labour at what they can get for it in all market places to all lengths of time: much more than this the law does to many, but so much it does to all, and less than this to none; that your petitioner cannot discover himself to have done unlawfully in this his said labour of writing books, or to have become criminal or have forfeited the law's protection thereby. Contrariwise your petitioner believes firmly that he is innocent in said labour; that if he be found in the long run to have written a genuine enduring book, his merit thereon and desert towards England and English and other men will be considerable, and not easily estimable in money; that, on the other hand, if his book prove false and ephemeral, he and it will be abolished and forgotten, and no harm done; . . . that in the happy and long-doubtful event of the game's going in his favour, your petitioner submits that the small winnings thereof do belong to him or his, and that no other mortal has justly either part or lot in them at all, now, henceforth, or for ever.' This quaint and interesting document concludes with a prayer to the House to forbid 'extraneous persons entirely unconcerned in this adventure of his to steal from him his small winnings for a space of sixty years at the shortest. After sixty years, unless your honourable House provide otherwise, they may begin to steal.'

The proposal of Sergeant Talfourd in 1841 was that the term of copyright in a book should be extended to sixty years,

reckoned from the death of the author. Lord Mahon was for giving protection for five-and-twenty years, reckoned from the date of death. Macaulay pointed out that Lord Mahon's plan was not merely to institute a lottery, in which some writers would draw prizes and some would draw blanks. His lottery was so contrived that in the vast majority of cases the blanks would fall to the best books, and the prizes to books of inferior merit. After showing, by examples taken from the works of Shakspeare, Milton, and Dryden, that the effect of Lord Mahon's plan would be to give to crude and imperfect works a great advantage over the highest productions of genius, Macaulay stated his own plan, which was to give protection for forty-two years, reckoned from the date of publication. 'In this arrangement,' he said, 'there is no uncertainty, no inequality. The advantage which I propose to give will be the same to every book. No work will have so long a copyright as my noble friend gives to some books, or so short a copyright as he gives to others. No copyright will last ninety years; no copyright will end in twenty-eight years. To every book published in the last seventeen years of a writer's life I give a longer term of copyright than my noble friend gives, and I am confident that no person versed in literary history will deny this—that in general the most valuable works of an author are published in the last seventeen years of his life.' Macaulay's plan was adopted with some modifications. The duration of copyright was calculated from the date of publication, and the term of forty-two years was adopted by a large majority. On the motion of Lord Mahon, the heirs were to possess it for a further term of seven years after the death of the author. In any case, it was to be enjoyed for forty-two years by the author and his family.

Another important and much-needed measure was brought in and passed this session for the protection of women and children in mines and collieries. It originated with Lord Ashley (now the venerable Earl of Shaftesbury), who had shortly before entered upon his noble career of disinterested and philanthropic exertion to promote the welfare of the poor and the oppressed. He had induced the late Government to appoint a Commission of Inquiry into the employment of women and children in mines and collieries, and their investigations brought to light a state of matters shocking to humanity. They found women toiling underground like beasts of burden, surrounded by a loathsome atmosphere of physical suffering and degradation and moral pollution to which savage life scarcely affords a parallel; and children of five and six, and even in some cases of four years of age, stunted, diseased, and half-starved, compelled to crawl on all fours in the low and narrow passages of the coal pits, dragging by a chain passing from the waist between the legs small carts laden with coal. In the Midland counties and Cumberland children were put to work at seven years of age; in West Yorkshire, at six; in Derbyshire, Northumberland, and Durham, and in the east of Scotland, at five or six; in Lancashire, at five; and in the vicinity of Oldham, as early as four. The practice of employing females in collieries was universal in West Yorkshire and North Lancashire, common in Lancashire, Cheshire, and South Wales, general in the east of Scotland, but rare in the west. No women were employed in the Midland or three Northern counties of England, and in Ireland neither children of tender years nor females were employed in underground operations. In many cases, especially in the Midland counties, the mines were damp and streaming with water. No attention was paid either to efficient ventilation or to drainage. It was stated in the Report of the Commission that 'many of the mines are so wet that the people have to work all day over their shoes in water, at the same time that the water is constantly dripping from the roof; in other pits, instead of dripping, it constantly rains, as

they term it, so that in a short time after they commence the labour of the day their clothes are drenched, and in this state, their feet also in water, they work all day. The children especially complain bitterly of this.' In the West Riding of Yorkshire there were very few collieries where the main road exceeded a yard in height, and in some it did not exceed twenty-six or twenty-eight inches—in some it was only twenty-two inches—in height; so that in such places the youngest child could not pass along without great pain, and in the most constrained posture. In the eastern coal districts of Scotland, where the side roads did not exceed from twenty-two to twenty-eight inches in height, the working places were sometimes 100 and even 200 yards distant from the main road, so that females had to crawl backwards and forwards with their small carts in seams of the height mentioned. The whole of these noisome excavations were in a most deplorable state as to ventilation, and the drainage was equally bad. In North Wales the main roads were low and narrow, the air foul, the places of work dirty, dark, and damp, and the ventilation most imperfect. This was the case also in South Wales. The miserable creatures condemned to this life of wretchedness and brutal degradation were compelled to breathe an atmosphere so strongly charged with carbonic acid gas as to be most injurious to the health.

The Commissioners discovered that great numbers of children of both sexes, of from four to six years of age, were employed in this horrible work, in pits where the seam of coal was narrow, crawling backwards and forwards on all fours, like beasts of burden, dragging behind them trucks loaded with coals, fastened to their haunches by a chain. It was no uncommon occurrence to find the skin broken by the chain, and the blood running down the legs of these poor children, who yet durst not complain for fear of being beaten. In the West Riding of Yorkshire girls of all ages, from seven to twenty-one, were almost universally employed as 'trappers' and 'hurriers' in common with boys, and usually working quite naked down to the waist. 'Any sight more disgustingly indecent or revolting can scarcely be imagined than these girls at work,' said one of the sub-commissioners. Well might another of them add, 'I could not have believed that I should have found human nature so degraded.' It appears that these poor creatures were compelled to drag heavy trucks, some 12,000, some 14,000, and some even 16,000 yards daily.

In the east of Scotland, the Report states, the persons employed in coal-bearing are almost all girls and women. They carry coal on their back on unrailed roads, with burdens varying from three-quarters of a cwt. to three cwt.—'a cruel slavery revolting to humanity.' A little girl only six years old was found who was compelled, with a burden of at least half a cwt., to go fourteen times a day a journey equal in distance to the height of St. Paul's Cathedral. The females suffered dreadfully from this shocking system, especially the married women. It was quite common for them to go up from the pit to be confined, and to return again to their horrid work in less than a week. 'A vast number of them have dead children,' said one witness, 'and false births, which is worse, as they are not able to work after the latter. . . . It is only horse-work, and ruins the women; it crushes their haunches, bends their ankles, and makes them old women at forty.'

The regular hours of labour for children and young persons in these horrible dens were fourteen and sixteen a day, and these were often exceeded. In the east of Scotland, the Commissioners report, 'the labour is often continued on alternate days at least fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen hours of the twenty-four.' One of the witnesses, a girl of seventeen, says, 'I have repeatedly wrought the twenty-four hours; and after two hours of rest and my pease soup, have returned to the pit and worked

another twelve hours.' 'In the great majority of these mines night-work is a part of the ordinary system of labour. The labour is generally uninterrupted by any regular time set apart for rest and refreshment; what food is taken in the pit being eaten as best it may while the labour continues.'

These protracted periods of labour (and, indeed, the employment of children at all in the coal-pits) were attended with great danger both to the young persons themselves and to their fellow-workers. 'With all the precautions,' said the Commissioners, 'explosions take place, and more than 100 people have been killed at a time.' And no wonder, 'for all the expedients devised to secure the safety of the mine may be counteracted by allowing one single trap-door to remain open; and yet in all the coal-mines the care of these trap-doors is intrusted to children of from five to seven or eight, who for the most part sit, excepting at the moment when persons pass through these doors, for twelve hours consecutively, in solitude, silence, and darkness.' The physical effects of this system of labour, as might have been expected, were of the most distressing kind. In both sexes alike stunted growths, crooked spines, crippled limbs, heart diseases, ruptures, asthma, *melanosis* or black spittle—an incurable and fatal disease—premature old age, and early death, were the fruits of this excessive and unnatural toil.

But the utter corruption of morals which this system produced was much worse than the physical degradation. The men became as ferocious as wild beasts, and inflicted gross acts of cruelty upon the boys employed under them, and who were completely at their mercy, sometimes inflicting fatal injuries, of which, however, no notice was taken by the authorities or the masters. The women were completely demoralized, and rendered wholly unfit for the duties of their sex. Their natural modesty was entirely destroyed, the language habitually employed was shocking in the extreme, and drunkenness was almost universal. The Commissioners could not, in fact, commit to print for general circulation all the facts that had come to their knowledge in connection with this system.

The guilt of originating and continuing this system of savage barbarism and revolting cruelty rests, in the first instance, on the proprietors of the mines, whose unhallowed greed of gain made them deaf to the calls of humanity; but the responsibility must be shared by the resident magistrates and clergy, and by the general public and the Legislature.

Lord Ashley, whose generous and genuine interest in the welfare of the working classes was frankly acknowledged even by those who disapproved of his measures, is entitled to the credit of being the first to expose the hideous and appalling evils of this system, and to provide an adequate remedy. The first provision of his Bill was an absolute prohibition of the employment of females in mines and collieries. The employment of children under thirteen years of age was also forbidden. It was enacted that no person under twenty-one years of age should in any mine or colliery be allowed to act as an engineer, as the Commissioners had discovered that the employment of mere children in that capacity had often led to serious and even fatal accidents. Lastly, the Bill provided for the abolition of the system of apprenticeship under which the children of paupers were taken wholesale from the workhouses, and compelled to toil in the pits for the benefit of the owners of the coal-mines to whom they were apprenticed, without any remuneration until they reached the age of twenty-one, when their labour was worth from twenty to twenty-five shillings a week. Great numbers of these poor creatures were orphans and friendless, and were treated by the masters in the most brutal manner.

The statements of Lord Ashley produced a strong sensation of indignant surprise and reprobation in the House, and his Bill passed rapidly through its various stages

without opposition. The announcement, however, by Lord Wharncliffe, the President of the Council, that the Government had resolved to remain perfectly passive respecting the measure, encouraged some of the members of the Upper House to carp at its provisions, and even to object to all interference with the labour market. Lord Londonderry, an extensive coal-owner, moved that the Bill should be read a second time that day six months, but his motion was not seconded. Three of the Peers, however, voted against the motion for going into Committee. Several amendments were made by the Lords on the measure, which were not improvements. Boys were allowed to be employed in mines, under certain regulations, after the age of ten; and they might be bound apprentices on attaining that age for a period not exceeding eight years. When the Bill returned to the House of Commons Lord Ashley expressed his disapproval of these amendments, but agreed to accept them rather than risk the loss of a measure which contained so many valuable provisions; and it became law. The Home Secretary was empowered to appoint inspectors of mines and collieries to see that the provisions of the Bill were carried out, and the operation of this truly beneficent Act has been attended with the most gratifying effects.

It was notorious that at the general election for 1841 bribery and corruption had prevailed to a most unusual extent. Extraordinary efforts had been made by both parties to secure a majority, and there was reason to believe that larger sums of money had been expended in the purchase of votes than at any election that had taken place since the passing of the Reform Bill. Numerous petitions had been presented against the successful candidates. In various instances they had been withdrawn in a manner which excited strong suspicions of collusion between the parties, in order to prevent a disclosure of the discreditable practices that had prevailed on both sides. The subject was brought under the notice of the House by Mr. Roebuck, who in a somewhat irregular manner put searching questions to the members for Reading, Penrhyn, Nottingham, Lewis, and Harwich, which elicited replies that made it evident that the rumours respecting the compromises referred to were well founded. A Select Committee was in consequence appointed on the motion of Mr. Roebuck, to inquire into the corrupt compromises alleged to have been made in order to avoid investigation into the means by which the sitting members for these boroughs had obtained their seats. The evidence taken by the Committee left no doubt as to the truth of Mr. Roebuck's charges. In regard to all five boroughs, sums of money varying from £2000 to £3500 had been paid to the petitioners against the return, and a bond had been given that one of the sitting members should retire, and allow one of the defeated candidates to take his place. Mr. Roebuck moved a series of resolutions, declaring these practices to be a violation of the liberties of the people, and a breach of the privileges of the House which it would in all future cases strictly inquire into and severely punish, and proposing that no writ for any election of members for any of the five towns mentioned, and the borough of Bridport, should be issued till further legislative enactments had been adopted to protect the purity of elections.

Resolutions such as these were much too stringent to obtain the assent of a House many of whose members had obtained admission to it by bribery and corruption, and many more regarded these practices as very venial offences. They were resisted both by the Government and the leaders of the Opposition. The first resolution was rejected by 136 votes to 47, and the others were negatived without a division. It was generally felt, however, that the exposure would not be without effect. The Chancellor of the Exchequer showed his disapproval of these objectionable com-

promises by refusing to grant the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds* to Lord Chelsea, the member for Reading, who had agreed to retire in favour of the rival candidate whom he had defeated at the poll. The writs to the five boroughs in which bribery had been proved to prevail were suspended for some time, though eventually they were all issued with the exception of Sudbury, in which corruption had been so gross and systematic that it was ultimately disfranchised. A Bill was introduced by Lord John Russell, the chief object of which was to furnish more efficacious means of bringing to light bribery actually committed, rather than to visit it with new penalties. The Bill passed both Houses without opposition, and became law on the 10th of August. But the evil was too deeply rooted to be eradicated by such partial remedies.

The attention of the Parliament during the session of 1842 was mainly occupied with the great financial measures brought forward by the Premier, but time was found to introduce and carry some legal reforms of no small importance. Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst introduced Bills to effect some much-needed improvements in the administration of the laws of bankruptcy and lunacy, and to extend the jurisdiction of the County Courts. The first two of these Bills were unanimously passed, and became law; but the third was delayed, owing to the late period of the session.

In the course of this year two most disgraceful attacks were made on the Queen, which rendered it necessary that some legislative measure should be passed for the more effectual protection of Her Majesty's person. A similar attempt had been made in 1840, when a young man of the name of Oxford fired at her twice, but happily neither shot took effect. He was tried on a charge of high treason, but the plea of insanity was set up for him; and effect having been given to it by the jury, he was committed to a lunatic asylum for life. The wretched creature seems to have known quite well what he was doing, for when told of the similar attempts made by Francis and Bean, he remarked, 'that if he had been hanged there would have been no more shooting at the Queen.'

On the 29th of May, 1842, as the Queen and Prince Albert were returning to Buckingham Palace from the Chapel Royal, the Prince saw a man step out from the crowd and present a pistol full at him at only two paces distance, but it missed fire. He escaped detection in the crowd. Next day, as the royal cortege was returning from a drive towards Hampstead, and was approaching the palace, a shot was fired at the Queen about five paces off, at the same spot where Oxford fired at her. 'It was the fellow with the same pistol,' says the Prince; 'a little, swarthy, ill-looking rascal. He is not out of his mind, but a thorough scamp.' He was instantly apprehended, and was brought to trial on the 17th of June, found guilty of high treason, and condemned to be hung and quartered; but at Her Majesty's earnest request the sentence of death was commuted into transportation for life.

The very day after this decision was made known (July 3rd), a deformed dwarf of the name of Bean—a chemist's assistant—levelled an old rusty pistol at the Queen as she passed him in her carriage, but it missed fire, and on examination was found to contain only powder, paper tightly rammed down, and some pieces of a clay pipe. Her Majesty remarked that she had expected a repetition of the attempts upon her so long as the law remained unaltered by which they could be dealt with only as acts of treason; and there can be no doubt that these dastardly outrages were prompted by wretched vanity and a desire of notoriety rather than by any murderous intent. The

* The Chiltern Hundreds was a district of Buckinghamshire. Its woods were at one time infested by banditti, and a steward was appointed to protect the inhabitants against their outrages. The office has long been merely nominal, but it serves as a means of vacating a seat in Parliament which cannot be resigned under any other plea than that of having accepted a place of honour or profit under the Crown.

Ministry concurred in the opinion expressed by the Queen, and they resolved to propose to Parliament that the punishment for such attempts should be made ignominious rather than severe. Accordingly on the 12th of June a bill was introduced making this offence punishable as a high misdemeanour by transportation for seven years, or imprisonment with or without hard labour for a term not exceeding three years, the culprit 'to be publicly or privately whipped as often and in such manner and form as the court shall direct, not exceeding thrice.' This bill became law on the 12th of July, and under it Bean was tried, and sentenced to be confined in the Millbank Penitentiary for eighteen months. This judicious change in the amount and mode of punishment had the effect of protecting Her Majesty for forty years from any similar outrage.

The year 1843 brought no alleviation of the depression which had settled on the industrial interests of the country. The distress of the people was still deepening, and the revenue diminishing. Riots, attended with considerable injury to property, broke out in the manufacturing districts both of England and Scotland. The agitation in Ireland for the repeal of the Union had assumed a dangerous aspect. Scotland was convulsed with the struggle between the two parties in the Established Church; and altogether the country was evidently in a most critical state. Allusion was made in the Queen's speech to the long-prevalent and still-continuing depression of the manufacturing interest of the country, which at once became the subject of a keen party debate.

It was evident, indeed, that the condition of the industrial classes was to be the principal subject which was to occupy the attention of Parliament during the session. On the 28th of February Lord Ashley moved an address to the Queen, praying that she would immediately and seriously consider what could be done for the religious and moral education of the working classes. He stated that taking into account all the children who were receiving education in schools of any kind in England there remained no fewer than 1,014,193 children of school age, who were receiving no education whatever, growing up in ignorance of their duty both to God and to man. It was calculated that in Manchester alone 1500 children were annually added to the dangerous classes. As a natural result juvenile crime was greatly on the increase, and a vast number of children of tender years were allowed by their parents to roam the streets, where they necessarily contracted the most idle and dissolute habits. In the first six months of the year 1842, 8341 persons were taken into custody. The number of those who could only read, or who read and wrote imperfectly, was 2862; of those who could neither read nor write the total was 4617. Of that number 2360 were between fifteen and twenty years of age, while 665 were under fifteen. The state of matters was much the same in the other manufacturing towns of Lancashire, while it was much worse in Liverpool. The total expenditure in the county of Lancaster for the punishment of crime was £604,965, while the annual vote for education for all England was only £30,000.

The motion of Lord Ashley was received by both sides of the House with apparent cordiality, and there seemed at last a prospect that political and ecclesiastical interests and prejudices would not be allowed any longer to defeat the attempt to remedy the evils which his Lordship had so vividly depicted. He had evidently brought forward the subject, in conjunction with the Government, as a feeler how far a measure which they contemplated would be acceptable to the House and the country. Encouraged by the reception given to Lord Ashley's speech and motion, Sir James Graham gave an outline of the plan which the Ministry intended to propose. They had prepared a bill for the regulation of juvenile labour in factories, which would have the effect of restricting the work of

children between the ages of eight and thirteen to six hours and a half per day, the whole work to be done either in the forenoon or the afternoon. During the other half of the day they were to be obliged to attend schools provided for the purpose, or schools connected with the National Society or the British and Foreign School Society. Roman Catholics, however, might attend schools connected with their own denomination. Provision was made to admit to the new schools all pauper children in the towns, and all other children whose parents were willing that they should receive instruction. The children of the various religious denominations were to receive, on certain appointed hours in every week, instruction from their respective ministers in the creed of their parents. It was also proposed that the authorized version of the Scriptures and some portion of the Liturgy should be used in those schools, which were to be placed under the care of the clergy. The new school buildings were to be erected by a public assessment not exceeding one-fifth of the annual amount of the poor rate for the last three years.

No one could doubt that a measure of this kind was urgently required to provide for the education both of pauper and factory children; and as the plan which the Government intended to introduce did not interfere with existing schools, and the children of all sects who might avail themselves of its provisions were placed on a footing of perfect equality within the schools, there was, so far, nothing calculated to excite sectarian feeling or contention. But unfortunately the arrangements proposed for the appointment of trustees of the schools were deliberately intended to give the clergy of the Established Church a predominant power in every board, and the Dissenters at once intimated their refusal to acquiesce in this arrangement. The Factory Bill containing the educational clauses was brought in by Sir James Graham on the 6th of March, and was cordially accepted by the members who were regarded as the representatives of the Established Church, but it was vehemently denounced by the Dissenters as sectarian, partial, and unjust; and on this occasion the Congregationalists were joined by the Methodists, who had hitherto sided with the Church in all denominational contests. Lord John Russell, indeed, cordially expressed his approval of the plan as a whole, though objecting to some of the details of the measure, and especially objecting to its being limited to the manufacturing districts, when the necessities of the agricultural districts were equally urgent. Several eminent Dissenters felt such intense anxiety that some steps should be taken to educate the mass of the people, that they would have acquiesced in a measure that would have substantially effected this object, though accompanied with restrictions inconsistent with what they deemed a just and enlightened policy. 'As to the education project,' said John Foster, the celebrated essayist and stanch Dissenter, 'the Methodist folk are going too far in declaring against the Bill absolutely and altogether; whereas the case is so alarmingly urgent that if such modifications as those proposed by Lord John Russell, or even the most material part of them, were admitted, one would, however reluctantly, and with a feeling of submitting to some injustice, make some considerable concessions in order that the wretched populace might have a certainty of getting *some* good in the way of cultivation, rather than be consigned downright and hopelessly to the great pestilent swamp of ignorance and barbarism.'

Cobden, who was a liberal Churchman, was of a similar opinion, and spoke favourably of the education clauses of the measure as a step in the right direction. A writer, to whom Church and Dissent were equally indifferent, remarked that 'it ought to be acknowledged on every hand that here was a call for magnanimity all round. It was an occasion for the Church to acknowledge her neglect, and hasten to repair it. It was

an occasion for the Dissenters to be modest about their much greater exertions for the education of their own members in the large towns, in consideration of the vast deal which it was not in their power to do. It was an occasion for all parties bravely to face the fearful truth of the amount of popular ignorance, and to decide deliberately whether it was best for all to yield some of their desires about doctrinal religious instruction, or for hundreds of thousands of children to pass off into utter darkness—ignorant not only of all religious doctrine whatever, but of the plainest truths and practices of morals.'

Unfortunately neither party displayed the magnanimity for which there was such a loud call. The Church would not abandon her claims to supremacy, and the Nonconformists would not be satisfied with anything short of perfect equality. The Government alleged, and probably with good reason, that it was impossible for them to go further without completely alienating their own supporters, and though a number of the moderate Whigs aided them in pressing the measure, the great body of the Liberal members strenuously opposed it. A fierce agitation was set on foot throughout the country against the educational provisions of the Bill; meetings were held at which violent resolutions were proposed, and speeches still more violent were made. Petitions against the Bill were poured in in such numbers that nearly 200 were presented by one member in one day, and Lord John Russell was intrusted with one from the city of London signed by 55,000 persons. The second reading was carried by a considerable majority, but on the 15th of June Sir James Graham announced with deep regret that the Government felt itself compelled to abandon the educational clauses of the Bill; and more than a quarter of a century elapsed before adequate provision was made by the Legislature for the education of the people.

At the beginning of the next Session, Sir James Graham reintroduced his Factory Bill, divested of the education clauses, limiting it simply to regulating the labour of children and young persons. Children between nine and thirteen years of age were only to be employed half time—that is, not more than six and a half hours each day. Young persons from thirteen to eighteen employed in cotton, silk, wool, and flax manufactures were not to work more than twelve hours a day. When the Bill went into Committee, Lord Ashley moved that the time of labour for women and children should be limited to ten hours. On this point a stout contest ensued, and a strange decision was given. The proposal of twelve hours was rejected by a majority of three, and then immediately after there was a majority of seven against ten hours. In this dilemma the Government withdrew the measure, and brought in a new Bill, reducing the age of children employed in factories from nine to eight, limiting as before the working hours of children under thirteen years of age to six and a half hours, extending the time during which they were to be under daily instruction in schools from two to two and a half hours in winter, continuing the limitation of the labour of women and of young persons between thirteen and eighteen to twelve hours a day, and making several regulations for the protection of the workers in factories. Parliament was evidently inclined to carry these restrictions further; but the Ministry staked their official existence on the measure, and it was carried by a large majority in the Commons, and passed the Lords without opposition. It was evident, however, from the feeling expressed in the House of Commons, that this Act was not regarded as a satisfactory or permanent settlement of the labour question, and only three years later the Ten Hours Bill became law. As a supplement to this measure, Lord Ashley in the next session introduced a bill, which was adopted by the Government and carried, for bringing young people employed in print-works under the protection of the Factory Act.

At this time Ireland was in a state of violent agitation for the repeal of the Union. 'The year 1843,' said O'Connell, 'is and shall be the great repeal year.' He stated that he did not resume the repeal agitation till he saw how utterly unable the Whigs were to effect anything. As, however, he did everything in his power to keep the Whigs in office, powerless as they were, and did not in earnest resume the agitation for repeal until after Sir Robert Peel and the Conservatives had been intrusted with the Government of the country, the probability seems to be that O'Connell was really apprehensive that they would rule Ireland in accordance with the old Orange policy. It is not credible that a person of his shrewdness could have imagined that British statesmen and people would ever submit to the dissolution of the Union, and allow Ireland to be ruled and utterly ruined by Irish agitators. But he probably imagined that by stirring up the Irish people to demand Home Rule he would concuss the Government into concessions which they would not otherwise be induced to make.

A somewhat different opinion of O'Connell's motives and expectations in regard to this question has been formed by some impartial persons, whose opinion on the subject is entitled to consideration. Mr. Lecky, the author of the 'History of European Morals,' says, 'O'Connell perceived clearly that the tendency of affairs in Europe was towards the recognition of the principle that a nation's will is the one legitimate rule of its government. All rational men acknowledged that the Union was imposed on Ireland by corrupt means contrary to the wish of one generation. O'Connell was prepared to show by the protest of the vast majority of the people that it was retained without the acquiescence of the next. He had allied himself with the parties that were rising surely and rapidly to power in England; with the Democracy, whose gradual progress is effacing the most venerable landmarks of the constitution; with the Free Traders, whose approaching triumph he had hailed and exulted in from afar. He had perceived the possibility of forming a powerful party in Parliament which would be free to co-operate with all English parties without coalescing with any, and might thus turn the balance of factions, and decide the fate of Ministries. He saw, too, that while England in a time of peace might resist the expressed will of the Irish nation, its policy would be necessarily modified in time of war; and he predicted that, should there be a collision with France while the nation was organized in 1843, repeal would be the immediate and inevitable consequence. In a word, he believed that under a constitutional government the will of four-fifths of a nation, if peacefully, perseveringly, and energetically expressed, must sooner or later be triumphant. If a war had broken out during the agitation—if the life of O'Connell had been prolonged ten years longer—if any worthy successor had assumed his mantle—if a fearful famine had not broken the spirit of the people—who can say that the agitation would not have been successful?' Whatever were the 'Liberator's' motives or expectations, he now entered on a course of agitation which proved highly disastrous to his unhappy country, and ultimately to himself.

He began the war in 1841 by attempting to exclude British manufactures from Ireland. His 'pantaloons, waistcoat, and coat,' he said, 'were Irish.' He considered 'the pleasure of giving employment to Irish hands part of the value of the price he gave for anything.' He instituted a 'Board of Trade' to carry out the decree which he issued against British manufactures, and as the Dublin shopkeepers refused to join the movement, it was deemed necessary to supersede them by 'marts for the exclusive use of Irish commodities.' As might have been foreseen, the attempt completely failed—not even Irishmen could be persuaded to pay a higher price for inferior articles; and O'Connell, with his habitual disregard of truth or even probability, declared that the

failure was owing to the influx of English workmen 'who had come over to keep down the wages of the Irish operative.'

The 'Liberator' had recourse to much more effective means to carry out his object than the proposal to exclude the productions of British power-looms by the introduction of hand-loom weaving into Ireland. He had previously declined the office of Lord Mayor of Dublin, but he was now resolved to accept that dignity for the facilities it would afford for promoting the repeal cause. In one hour and a half he admitted seventy-three new freemen, all of them Roman Catholics, and 'of the right sort'—that is, stanch Repealers; and this process, he avowed, was to be carried on systematically not only by himself but by some 'sound coadjutor' who should be appointed to succeed him. He formed a Repeal Association, consisting of three classes—associates, members, and volunteers—subscribing from a shilling to a pound to the funds, and managed by general inspectors, wardens, and collectors. The Association held regular meetings in Dublin in a place which O'Connell styled 'Conciliation Hall,' attended by his sons and relatives and his most influential and devoted followers, priestly and lay. The organization of this association, which had members in every district, was skilfully contrived not only to collect funds but to train the people to combination, and to prepare them for concerted and simultaneous movements at the direction of their leaders. The cards and symbols employed by them were all intended and fitted to inflame the animosity of the Irish against the British Government and people. But O'Connell's most effective instrument in rousing the masses was the monster meetings which he held in various parts of the country. These gatherings were almost always held on a Sunday, on some open spot, usually the scene of some historic event which could be turned to account by the orators who addressed the assembled multitude, aided by the 'picturesque surroundings of hill and stream.' The people thronged to the place of meeting in companies, led by their priests, from all parts of the surrounding country for ten or fifteen miles, with temperance bands playing before them. Mass was celebrated in the presence of the multitude before the proceedings began, in order that religious feeling might prepare their minds to be more deeply impressed by the glowing harangues of the Repeal orators on the wrongs inflicted on Ireland by the hated 'Saxon,' and the unconstitutional and illegal conduct of the British Parliament in presuming to make laws for the Irish people.

There was a temporary suspension of the Repeal agitation during the year 1842, in consequence of the distress, which had come upon the people with greater severity than in either England or Scotland. The harvest had been very bad; great numbers were starving, and bread riots, attacks upon flour mills and vessels laden with corn, and other outbreaks on the part of starving men, were the chief incidents in the history of Ireland during this year. In 1843, however, the Repeal agitation reached its height. O'Connell announced at the outset that if the clergy and laity would unite in their efforts, the Repeal of the Union would be 'all but immediate.' One of the first steps, which created a great excitement in Dublin, was the carrying of a Repeal petition to Parliament by a large majority in the corporation of that city. Then came the monster meetings, the first of which was held on the 16th of March at Trim, where 30,000 persons were present. O'Connell, who, as usual, was the chief speaker, descanted on the battles of Aughrim and the Boyne, and called upon the young men present to say whether they would be slaves or shed their blood on the field. For himself, he would be in his grave or he would be free. At the Mullingar meeting on the 14th of May, at which the attendance was computed at from 100,000 to 130,000, many of whom had come from a distance of forty miles, a great number of the Roman clergy were present; and Dr. Higgins, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ardagh, declared that

the whole of the Irish prelates, without exception, were ardent Repealers. Numerous meetings of a similar kind were held throughout the country, at which strong and threatening language was used, and plain intimations were given of an intention to appeal to physical force to gain the object they had in view. It is a significant fact that at none of these assemblages were petitions to Parliament proposed, and indeed the Parliament was constantly spoken of with contempt. A recently started newspaper, called the *Nation*, distinguished itself by its violent and ably-written advocacy of the Repeal cause; and the efforts of the platform orators to excite the people against the Union were zealously seconded by other coadjutors in the Irish press. The poetry published in these journals, and especially in the *Nation*, turning on the events of the rebellion of 1798 and the efforts and sufferings of the insurgents at that time, had a powerful effect on the ignorant and inflammable Irish peasantry in stirring them up to take similar measures to vindicate what they were told was their inalienable right—freedom from the Saxon yoke.

The Government were meanwhile watching the agitation with vigilance, but without alarm. They thought it necessary, however, to take precautions against an outbreak, and towards the end of May they brought in an Irish Arms Bill, requiring the registration of firearms, and restricting the importation of arms and ammunition, which, in spite of the vehement and pertinacious opposition of a portion of the Irish members, was carried through both Houses by large majorities, and became law. At the same time the Irish Chancellor, Sir Edward Sugden, removed from the Commission of the Peace the names of a number of magistrates who had attended or taken part in meetings for promoting the repeal of the Union—a step which led to very keen discussions in Parliament. Still the Ministry took no steps to suppress the monster meetings or to punish the agitators; and O'Connell and his coadjutors, made bold by impunity, evidently fancied that Peel was afraid to interfere with their proceedings. His language in consequence became more violent and threatening. He had hitherto intermingled the most fulsome flattery of the worst part of the Irish character with the grossest abuse of the members of the Government and all who were hostile to repeal—designating the Duke of Wellington 'a stunted corporal,' and the *Times* 'an obscure rag' and a 'ruffianly Saxon paper.' He now began to talk of Ireland furnishing 'women enough to beat the entire Queen's forces,' and to refer in significant terms to the hopelessness of any contest in a civil war between the Irish people and the British army.

At Kilkenny he gave his audience a description of the storming of Wexford by Cromwell. He of course avoided any mention of the fact that the Roman Catholic inhabitants of that town had distinguished themselves by special acts of cruelty and ferocity; had filled a hulk with Protestant prisoners, and had sunk it in the harbour there; and had imprisoned others in a Roman Catholic chapel, and starved them to death. But he gave a fancy picture of the massacre of three hundred women by Cromwell's orders when he obtained possession of the town, and then affirmed that the *Times* newspaper, which he had received that day, had threatened the Irish again with such a scene—a statement in which, it is scarcely necessary to say, there was not a word of truth. 'I am not imaginative,' the Liberator added amid enthusiastic cheering, 'when I talk of the possibility of such scenes; but yet I assert that there is no danger to our women now, for the men of Ireland would die to the last in their defence.'

At Mullaghmast he gave an impassioned description of an alleged massacre of certain Irish chieftains, said to have taken place on that very spot in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. 'Three hundred and ninety Irish chiefs,' he said, 'perished here! They

came confiding in Saxon honour, relying on the protection of the Queen, to a friendly conference. In the midst of revelry, in the cheerful light of the banquet-house, they were surrounded and butchered. None returned save one. Their wives were widows, their children fatherless. In their homesteads were heard the shrill shriek of despair—the cry of bitter agony. Oh, Saxon cruelty, how it cheers my heart to think that you dare not attempt such a deed again!' No one knew better than O'Connell that such descriptions and allusions addressed to an ignorant and excitable Irish peasantry could not fail to arouse strong feelings of enmity towards the people of England, as well as the Government. And it was one of the worst features of the movement which he set on foot that, as one of his apologists admits, 'he deliberately revived and worked up for his political purposes the almost national hatreds of Celt and Saxon.' In the bloodshed and anarchy which are now tearing Ireland in pieces the United Kingdom is reaping the fruits of O'Connell's unprincipled and mendacious agitation.

It is probable that it was the proceedings at the monster meeting at Tara, on the 15th of August, which at length aroused the serious apprehensions of the Government, and convinced them that some steps must be taken to make the agitators amenable to the restrictions of the law. The Hill of Tara seems to have been selected for the place of meeting, both because there stands the stone said to have been used for the coronation of the ancient monarchs of Ireland, and because there the insurgents had been signally defeated in the Irish rebellion of 1798.

It was asserted by trustworthy and impartial witnesses that there could not have been fewer than a quarter of a million of persons present. 'The hill,' it was said, 'was like a huge encampment. Some persons arrived overnight; others flocked in from break of day; and after ten o'clock imposing processions, with music and banners, converged from various points. A head—half cap, half crown—was prepared wherewith to crown the Liberator, and there can be no doubt that the peasant multitude believed the day to be come when they were to be freed from a foreign domination, and restored to national grandeur and universal comfort and well-being.' At this meeting he declared that he had been laughed at for saying in January that this was the Repeal year; but it was his turn to laugh now, for it was certain that before twelve months more the Parliament would be in College Green. He could not fail to know that this prediction could be fulfilled, if at all, only by a general insurrection of the Irish people against the British Government; and if it was not his intention to excite them to rebel, his assertion that 'he was able to announce' that not twelve months could possibly elapse without hurrahs for the Irish Parliament in College Green being heard over the land, was simply intended to deceive his misled and enthusiastic followers.

The Agitator turned to account the Temperance movement, which Father Mathew had set on foot with remarkable success, and at another monster meeting, held at Roscommon on the 20th of August, he said: 'If he had to go to battle he should have the teetotalers with him, and there was not an army in the world that he would not fight with them.' He now advised the people not to carry their suits before the courts of law, but to refer their disputes to arbitration courts composed of the magistrates who had been dismissed from the Commission of the Peace on account of their attending Repeal meetings; and for a time this advice was followed with beneficial effects. A movement of a different kind was set on foot at this time against the payment of rent. The priests in some districts recommended the people to cut down and gather in their corn, lay by what was required for their own use, and then if any was left they might pay it over to the landlord. In various cases bands of stran-

gers from a distance, in collusion with the tenants, cut and carried off the crops on small farms in order that the bare fields might serve as an excuse to the landlords for the non-payment of the rent.

Matters were evidently approaching a crisis. It was impossible for the Government to look on longer in silence while monster meetings were being held throughout the country, attended by enormous multitudes organized and drilled in a semi-military fashion, at which threats of a resolution to carry out their plans by force of arms were uttered in no ambiguous language. The chief agitator no doubt professed to carry on his agitation on peaceful principles; but it was by no means certain that, even if he wished his followers to keep the peace, they would follow his advice after his impassioned eloquence had roused an ignorant, fierce, and impulsive populace to the highest pitch of excitement. The Repealers themselves affirmed that the whole country was in a flame. They talked of marshalling their 'troops,' and of their 'Repeal cavalry,' and they 'issued regulations' in order to 'muster, march, and parade,' and marched to their places of meeting in military order, and bearing banners which demanded 'Repeal or blood.' A body of ignorant peasants thus organized and stimulated might at any moment break away from all control, and rise in arms, as they have frequently done, against the Government. The Ministry, therefore, very properly thought it high time to interfere.

A great meeting of Repealers was summoned to be held at Clontarf, three miles from Dublin, on Sunday, October 8, 1843. This place was chosen because it was the scene of a victory which the Irish had gained in olden times over the Danes. It was intended that this assemblage should surpass in numbers and display all the other meetings previously held, and a regular programme was issued, prescribing the order of march, the position to be taken up by the different detachments on their arrival on the ground, and the dress to be worn, which gave it the appearance of a military muster rather than of a peaceful meeting. The publication of this document appears to have at length induced the Government to take decided steps to suppress this dangerous movement. On the 9th of October a proclamation was issued by the Lord-Lieutenant, declaring that the 'intended meeting can only tend to serve the ends of factious and seditious persons, and to the violation of the public peace;' prohibiting its being held 'as calculated to excite reasonable and well-founded apprehension,' in that its object was 'to accomplish alterations in the laws and constitution of the realm by intimidation and the demonstration of physical force;' and warning all persons to abstain from attending it.

As soon as this proclamation was published O'Connell called a special meeting of the Repeal Association, and acting on his advice, they issued a 'counter proclamation,' 'earnestly requesting and entreating that all well-disposed persons will immediately repair to their own dwellings,' and that the meeting 'is abandoned, and is not to be held.' A number of the members volunteered to take their station at the approaches to Clontarf, to intercept the Repealers on their way to the place of rendezvous. A large body of troops were drawn up on the ground, and were so arranged as to compel the crowd to keep to the road, and to move on without stopping. The hustings had been removed. O'Connell himself was not present, but in his stead was seen Thomas Steele, 'the head pacificator of Ireland,' shouting to the people to return home. This advice was implicitly followed, and the day passed off in tranquillity.

The Government were severely blamed, and with apparent reason, for delaying so long the issue of their proclamation; for as the people were already assembling in enormous masses from distant parts of the country, there was great danger that a collision might take place between them and the soldiers. It has been suggested, with great appearance of probability, that the

Cabinet had received some secret information which rendered it necessary for them to prohibit the meeting almost at the last moment.

The submissive attitude at once assumed by O'Connell at this juncture broke the backbone of the Repeal agitation. There can be no doubt that the masses who greeted with enthusiastic applause his menaces to the British Legislature, and his references to 'the might that slumbered' in the hundreds of thousands of Repealers, fully expected that, failing peaceful efforts, he would have resort to force in order to carry the dissolution of the Union; and as soon as it was made evident that the imposing demonstrations at his monster meetings were mere bravado, the peasantry ceased to have confidence either in their leader or their cause. Count Cavour, who had shortly before visited England and Ireland for the express purpose of making himself acquainted with their condition, on hearing of the great Agitator's prompt submission to the prohibition of the Clontarf meeting, wrote to a friend, 'According to my view, O'Connell's fate is sealed. On the first vigorous demonstration of his opponents, he has drawn back; from that moment he has ceased to be dangerous.' *

The Government followed up their judicious and well-deserved blow at the monster meetings with proceedings against their originator and his chief associates. On the 14th of October O'Connell himself and eight of his coadjutors, including his son John, Thomas Steele, Dr. Gray (proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*), Charles Gavan Duffy (editor of the *Nation* newspaper), and R. D. Browne, M.P., were arrested on charges of conspiracy, sedition, and unlawful assembling. They were admitted to bail. It is a significant fact that O'Connell now expressed extreme anxiety that the public peace should be preserved. He issued most imploring entreaties that the people should remain quiet. Seeing that the word 'Saxon' had given offence, he declared he would never again use it; and he even expressed his willingness to limit his agitation for repeal to a demand for a local legislature for merely local purposes.

The trial of O'Connell and his associates commenced on the 2nd of November, 1842, in the Court of Queen's Bench in Dublin. Every possible legal artifice and quibble were employed to interpose delay and protract the trial. It was not till the 8th that the jury found the indictment 'a true bill,' and in consequence of the pleas and pretexts of the counsel for the prisoners, the trial was postponed till the 15th of January, 1843. Owing to inexcusable carelessness on the part of the officials, two slips of the jury lists were lost, and sixty-three names were thus excluded. Loud complaints were made at the time, and have since been re-echoed by O'Connell's sympathizers, against the conduct of the Crown counsel in striking off the name of every Roman Catholic that appeared on the panel. But it was quite notorious that the Irishmen connected with that denomination were almost to a man favourable to Repeal; and painful experience has shown that no amount of evidence, however clear and conclusive, will induce persons of this class to bring in a verdict of guilty against criminals with whose opinions or conduct they sympathize. There was a striking and significant reluctance shown by the jurors to serve on the jury, and ill health and various other excuses were pleaded in order to obtain exemption. A number of them paid the fine of £50 rather than undertake this responsible duty. The trial, which was extended over twenty-four-days, was conducted after a thoroughly

* It is an unpleasant feature of the Irish character that, when treated with forbearance by their rulers, they regard this as a proof that they are formidable and feared, and become in consequence more audacious, but that they immediately collapse when dealt with in a firm and resolute manner. An inspector of penitentiaries in the United States says the Irish make the best prisoners. When they find themselves in the grasp of the legal authorities, no matter how turbulent and troublesome they may have been previously, they become at once most humble and submissive. Like nettles, they sting if touched gently; grasped with a firm hand, they become soft as silk.

Irish fashion. On the fourteenth day the Irish Attorney-General, Mr. T. B. C. Smith, so far lost his temper and forgot what was due to his office as to challenge Mr. Fitzgibbon, one of the opposing counsel, who had accused him of being actuated by private and dishonourable motives, and the court was obliged to interfere before the matter could be amicably settled. Mr. Shiel, who was counsel for John O'Connell, delivered a glowing and somewhat bombastic speech, which was better fitted to obtain the applause of the spectators than to secure a favourable verdict from the jury. O'Connell spoke at great length in his own defence; but his speech was heavy and ineffective, and was mainly directed to prove that Ireland had lost instead of gained by her union with England. The Chief-Justice, who presided at the trial, charged forcibly against him and his fellow-prisoners, and the jury brought in a verdict of guilty. O'Connell was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment and a fine of £2000, and was bound in heavy recognizances to keep the peace for seven years. The other prisoners—with the exception of the Rev. Mr. Tierney, who was allowed to get off altogether—were sentenced each to nine months' imprisonment and a fine of £50, and to give securities to keep the peace for seven years. The sentence must undoubtedly be regarded as very lenient in the circumstances of the case, but it was in every way judicious to avoid the appearance of vindictiveness or severity.

An appeal, chiefly on technical grounds, was made to the House of Lords against this decision. It was referred by them to the twelve judges. They were unanimous in regarding six of the eleven counts as bad or informal, chiefly on account of the manner in which they had been subdivided by the jury in the endeavour to be precise and accurate. But the Lord Chief-Justice Tindal and six of the judges were of opinion that, notwithstanding, the judgment and sentence must stand as fully warranted by the parts of the indictment that were held good. Five of the judges, with some hesitation, took an opposite view. The final decision rested with the House of Lords. Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst and Brougham were of opinion that the judgment of the court below ought to be affirmed. Lords Denman, Cottenham, and Campbell ruled that the judgment should be reversed, and Lord Denman employed some strong and memorable words in censuring the manner in which the jury lists had been prepared. Such practices, he said, would make of the law 'a mockery, a delusion, and a snare.' As all the Peers who formed the majority were stanch Whigs, and the constitution made no distinction between law Lords and lay Lords, a number of the Conservative Peers manifested a strong inclination to take part in the vote, which in that case would without doubt have sustained the sentence upon O'Connell and his associates. Lord Brougham had shown great keenness and asperity in discussing the question, and declared that the decision to which the majority of the law Lords had come would 'go out without authority and come back without respect;' but he deprecated the threatened interference of the lay Lords. His remonstrance was supported by the Lord Chancellor and Lord Wharncliffe, President of the Council, and had the effect of inducing the lay Peers to retire from the House, leaving the decision in the hands of the law Lords. The judgment was accordingly reversed, and O'Connell and his associates were set at liberty.

The news of this decision created a good deal of alarm in England, but was of course received in Ireland with exuberant delight. A triumphal procession escorted the great Agitator, elevated on a lofty car and crowned with the Repeal cap, from the prison to his own house in Merrion Square, and from the balcony he addressed the enthusiastic multitude in his usual style, congratulating them that 'the plans of the wicked and the conspiracy of the oppressor —the foul mismanagement of the jury-

panel—the base conspiracy against the lives, the liberties, and the constitutional rights of the public' had been defeated. A solemn religious service was celebrated on the following Sunday in the Roman Catholic Metropolitan Church in the presence of O'Connell and his companions of 'the captivity,' 'in thanksgiving for the deliverance of the beloved Liberator of his country and of his fellow-martyrs from their unjust captivity.' At the 'Conciliation Hall' O'Connell talked largely of his plans for the future, and especially his proposals for holding county meetings to petition for the impeachment of the judges and of the Irish law officers of the Crown. But he was no longer formidable to the Government, and he was aware of the fact. The evidence which the trial had afforded, that the Ministry were strong enough to prosecute and punish the 'Liberator' himself, lowered his prestige in the eyes of his countrymen, and greatly diminished his influence; while the reversal of his sentence by the House of Lords, which he had so often and so fiercely denounced, must have convinced the great body of his countrymen that the charge so often made by him, that Irishmen could not obtain justice from Englishmen, was unfounded.* His appeal was sustained and his sentence set aside by the very Imperial Parliament which he had laboured to break up. His submission to the proclamation prohibiting the Clontarf meeting, and the studied care with which, after his release, he avoided any proceedings that were likely to bring him again within the grasp of the legal tribunals, made it evident that his vehement appeals to the might that slumbered in the Irish peasantry, and his references to the 'Repeal cavalry,' and their willingness to shed their blood for their country, were not intended to rouse them to an appeal to arms, and that his monster meetings and processions, and occasional military drillings, were only meant to excite the fears of the British Legislature and people, and not to lead to action. The 'Young Ireland' party, who had hitherto been his most zealous partizans, became indignant at a policy which they regarded as a deception and a sham, and assailed him as bitterly as they had once enthusiastically supported his plans. The Repeal agitation soon after collapsed, and the Liberator's reign came to a melancholy termination.

* 'O'Connell is released,' wrote Sydney Smith, expressing in his humorous way the general feeling on the subject, 'and released, I have no doubt, by the conscientious decision of the law Lords. If he was unjustly (even from some technical defeat) imprisoned, I rejoice in his liberation. England is, I believe, the *only* country in the world where such an event *could* have happened, and a wise Irishman (if there be a wise Irishman) should be slow in separating from a country whose spirit can produce and whose institutions can admit of such a result. Of his guilt no one doubts; but guilty men must be hung technically and according to established rules, upon a statutable gibbet, with parliament rope, and a legal hangman, sheriff, and chaplain on the scaffold, and the mob in the foreground.'

CHAPTER XX.

Difficulties of the Ministry—Roman Catholic Endowments Bill—Lady Hewley's Charity—Unitarian Chapels Bill—Violent Opposition to the Measure—War with the Ameers of Scinde—Their Arbitrary Treatment by the Indian Government—Major Outram's opinion of their case—Sir Charles Napier's Achievements—Battles of Meanee and Dubha—Annexation of Scinde—Character of the Transaction—Recall of Lord Ellenborough—Sir Henry Hardinge appointed Governor-General—Lord Ellenborough's unwarrantable interference with the Affairs of Gwalior—Battles of Mahrajpoor and Mangore—Flourishing state of the British Finances—Large Reductions of Duties—Duty on Slave-grown Sugar—Resolution of Mr. Miles carried against the Government—It is rescinded—Renewal of the Bank Charter—Rebecca Riots in Wales—Opening of Mazzini's Letters at the Post Office—The Tahiti Affair—Outrage on the British Consul—Increase of the Maynooth Grant—Opposition of Churchmen and Dissenters—Attack of Mr. Disraeli on Sir Robert Peel—The Establishment of the Queen's Colleges in Ireland—The Oregon Question with the United States.

THE combined firmness and moderation displayed by the Ministry in their treatment of O'Connell and the Repeal agitation contributed not a little to strengthen their position in Parliament and the country; and the visit which the Queen, Prince Albert, and the Duchess of Kent paid to the Prime Minister at Tamworth showed that he now enjoyed the confidence of the Court as well as of the community. But the Ministry had still great difficulties to encounter. The distress which had hitherto existed among the people, and especially among the manufacturing classes, was in no way diminished; the Chartist agitation was still troublesome; and Ireland was in its usual chronic state of poverty and discontent. To add to the anxieties of the Premier, indications were not awanting that his comparatively liberal financial policy was exciting dissatisfaction and distrust among the extreme section of the agricultural party. A dispute with the United States respecting the boundary of the British territory in North America, which at one time assumed a threatening aspect, had at length been amicably settled, though in a way which was represented as unfair and unfavourable to the just claims of our country. The right of search, or rather the right of visit, to ascertain the nationality of a vessel, had led to some unpleasant discussions between the British and the American Governments. A fierce attack was made in Parliament on Lord Ellenborough's policy and proclamations, which the Ministry had great difficulty in defending or palliating; and the Anti-Corn-Law agitation, though unsuccessful in Parliament, was exciting a strong feeling throughout the country against the protectionist system which was supported by the Government. War had broken out between the Ameer of Scinde and our Indian Government, and the general policy of the Governor-General was exciting great apprehensions and dissatisfaction among the Directors of the East India Company. The Tractarian policy was imperiling the peace and prosperity of the Universities and the safety of the English Church; and the Non-intrusion dispute, which had been carried on for three or four years in Scotland with unexampled keenness and asperity, now came to a head, and rent the Establishment in twain. It was no light task to conduct the affairs of the country in such critical circumstances; but the Ministry persevered in a course of legislation quite at variance with the old Tory policy, and which could not fail to shake the confidence of an influential section of their supporters.

In order to conciliate the Roman Catholics, and to redress their grievances, a Bill was introduced into Parliament by the Ministry for the better security and administration of charitable and religious trusts. At the beginning of the present century a law was passed instituting a Board for the

management of trusts of this kind. The members, however, were almost exclusively Protestants, while three-fourths of the bequests placed under their jurisdiction were Roman Catholic endowments. By the new Bill the Master of the Rolls, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and the Judge of the Prerogative Court, two of whom might be Roman Catholics, were to be members of the Board. Other ten Commissioners were to be appointed by the Crown, of whom five were to be Protestants and five Roman Catholics. If a question arose respecting the claim of a Roman Catholic to the benefit of a bequest, it was to be referred to the Commissioners belonging to his church. An important alteration was made in the existing law in order to enable real or personal property, without limitation as to amount, to be held in perpetuity for building and maintaining chapels and residences for the Romish clergy. The Bill was introduced in the House of Lords, where it encountered no opposition; but when it was sent down to the Commons it met with a reception from the Repeal members which showed the extreme difficulty of legislating for a country represented in Parliament by men of their class. O'Connell himself opposed the measure on account of the consequences that might result from sending Roman Catholics to the Castle, and from sanctioning a connection of his Church with the State. One member of the Agitator's 'tail' resisted the Bill as 'an insult' to Ireland; another declared that the Roman Catholic hierarchy were opposed to it; and one of the organs of their party denounced it as 'the first blow at the independence of the Catholic Church.' But on the third reading Mr. Maurice J. O'Connell said that he was bound to express his conviction that when the present heats had subsided 'the Bill would be found a substantial benefit to the people of Ireland, raising the condition of their clergymen without shackling the influence exercised by them over their flocks.' After the Bill had become law the 'Liberator' employed his influence to prevent Roman Catholics from accepting the office of Commissioners; but to his great mortification, when the Board was gazetted in December, it was found to be composed of five Roman Catholics—two of them the Romish Primate and the Archbishop of Dublin, along with four prelates and laymen of the Established Church, and one Presbyterian clergyman. O'Connell's behaviour in connection with this healing measure contributed not a little to diminish his influence, already on the wane.

The course adopted by the Government in dealing with religious trusts of a different kind gave great offence to English Churchmen as well as to Nonconformists. In the reign of Charles II. a Lady Hewley left certain manors in Yorkshire in trust, to support 'godly preachers of Christ's holy Gospel.' The lady herself was a Trinitarian Dissenter, and there could be no doubt that her bequest was intended to benefit preachers who held her own religious views. In course of time the body to which Lady Hewley belonged gradually lapsed into Unitarianism, and her bequest was expended in maintaining Unitarian chapels and ministers. At length the Congregationalists and the orthodox Presbyterians came to the conclusion that as their religious opinions coincided with those of Lady Hewley, their ministers and congregations were entitled to her bequest, which the present possessors had forfeited all right to hold, as they had renounced the doctrines which she considered those of 'Christ's holy Gospel.' They accordingly filed a bill in Chancery to dispossess the Unitarians. A decision was given in their favour. The Unitarians appealed to the House of Lords, and their Lordships required the opinion of the twelve judges. Eleven of their number were of opinion that the property in question ought to belong to the Trinitarian Protestant Dissenters, and the Lords in consequence affirmed the judgment of the Court of Chancery. The litigation lasted fourteen

years, and the final decision was pronounced in August, 1842.

Other bequests had been made and chapels founded by persons who were well known to have held Trinitarian doctrines, but had not employed definite terms in stating the doctrines which they wished to promote. Proceedings were about to be taken by the successful litigants in the case of Lady Hewley's charity, to recover the property which they contended had been wrongfully appropriated by Unitarians. In these circumstances the Government brought in a Bill for the purpose of preventing further litigation on the subject, and securing to the Unitarians the undisturbed possession of the chapels which had been in their hands for a period of more than twenty years.

Previous to 1813 the Unitarians were excepted from the benefit of the Toleration Act; but in that year an Act was passed legalizing the foundation of schools or chapels for the benefit of Unitarians, and placing them on the same footing as other Protestant Dissenters. But the Act had no retrospective effect, and it was now proposed to remedy this omission and to give them security of tenure for the property that had been in their possession from an earlier date. The Bill for that purpose was brought in by Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst. It was strenuously opposed in the Upper House by the Bishops of London and Exeter, and by the Earl of Winchelsea and other peers, but was carried by a considerable majority. Meanwhile, however, a strong opposition to the measure had arisen throughout the country. Numerous public meetings were held, at which the principle of the proposed Bill was vehemently condemned; and the table of the House of Commons was loaded with petitions from Churchmen, Methodists, and Congregationalists, representing it as intended to give undue favour to the Unitarian cause, and as inconsistent with the obligations of a Christian Government. The opposition to the measure in the House of Commons was led by Sir Robert Inglis and Mr. Plumptre, aided by the representatives of the various orthodox Nonconformist bodies; but it was advocated not only by the Premier and Lord Stanley, along with other members of the Government, but also by Lord John Russell and Mr. Macaulay. Sir Robert Inglis opposed the Bill chiefly, though not exclusively, on the ground that it violated the law of property; but others resisted it on the allegation that it was hostile to religious truth, and outraged and insulted the Christian feeling of the country. On the other hand, Sir Robert Peel pleaded that while there was no reason why Trinitarians who intended to give or bequeath their property to maintain the doctrines which they held, should hesitate to avow their purpose, there was a strong motive for the concealment of their intentions by Unitarians. The law did not extend to them the toleration which it afforded to every other denomination of Dissenters; and they could not legally erect chapels for the avowed purpose of teaching Unitarianism. He further urged that the founders of the chapels in question were in all probability hostile to any form of subscription, that they wished to retain full freedom of opinion, and that they therefore refused to bind their successors by any formula of particular doctrines. Macaulay asserted that the principle of limitation was to be found in all laws, in all countries, and in all times, in Greece and Rome, in France, England, and America, and dwelt largely on the hardships which would be inflicted on Unitarian congregations which had been in possession of these chapels and burial grounds for at least seventy years, and had laid out large sums in repairing, enlarging, and embellishing the buildings, if they should be deprived of property endeared to them by the most sacred associations. 'The Unitarian congregations,' said the eloquent debater, 'have laid out so much on these little spots of ground that it is

impossible to take the soil from them without taking from them property which is of much greater value than the mere soil, and which is indisputably their own. . . . Within these chapels, and all around them, are the tablets which the pious affection of four generations has placed over the remains of dear mothers and sisters, wives and daughters, of eloquent preachers, of learned theological writers. To the Unitarian the building which contains these memorials is a hallowed building. To the intruder it is of no more value than any other room in which he can find a bench to sit on and a roof to cover him. If, therefore, we throw out the Bill, we do not merely rob one set of people in order to make a present to another set. That would be bad enough. But we rob the Unitarians of that which they regard as a most precious treasure; of that which is endeared to them by the strongest religious and the strongest domestic associations; of that which cannot be wrenched from them without inflicting on them the bitterest pain and humiliation. To the Trinitarians we give that which can be to them of little or no value except as a trophy of a most inglorious victory won in a most unjust war.'

With the aid thus afforded by the leaders of the Opposition the second reading of the Bill was carried by a majority of 190 in a House of 524 members, and the third reading by a majority of 120. As some unimportant amendments had been introduced into the measure by the Commons, the Bill was sent back to the Lords, when the Bishop of London made another effort to throw it out on the ground that the great majority of the religious portion of the people considered the measure as alike opposed to truth, equity, and religion. Though the Bishop was zealously supported by the Earl of Roden, Lord Lyttelton, and other peers, his amendment was rejected by a majority of 161, and the Bill speedily became law.

Sir Robert Peel deserves great credit for the courage and disinterestedness which he displayed in proposing and carrying this measure through Parliament. The Unitarians were comparatively few in number; their creed was unpopular. They were almost all stanch Liberals; and even if gratitude had prompted them to transfer their allegiance to the Prime Minister, their friendship was likely to injure him more than their enmity. On the other hand, he was well aware that the measure would tend greatly to alienate a powerful section of his own followers. But he nevertheless exerted his whole official influence in its behalf, because, as he said, justice required it.

The war with the Ameers of Scinde, which had broken out during the previous year, was brought to a successful close as far as military operations were concerned; but the justice of the contest is another and very different matter. This province was conquered towards the end of last century by four chiefs of the Beloochee tribe, called Talpoor. Futteh Ali Khan, the oldest of these chiefs, who had been chiefly instrumental in expelling the dynasty of the Caloras, by whom the country had been held for nearly a century, was recognized as the supreme ruler of Scinde; but he admitted his three younger brothers to a share in the sovereignty, and they exercised with remarkable harmony a joint sovereignty over the province. After the death of the four brothers, three of whom left issue, a civil war arose between their sons; but at its close the territory was divided among them, and they were distinguished as the Ameers of Hyderabad, Khyrpore, and Meerpore. When Shah Soojah was expelled from Cabul, the Ameers availed themselves of the opportunity to throw off all dependence upon the Afghan rulers, to whom they had hitherto paid a yearly tribute, and they extended their territories until they comprised an area of about 100,000 square miles, with a population estimated at 1,000,000. The country afforded great facilities both for agriculture and commerce, which, however, were left unimproved. The great river Indus flows through the whole length of the province;

but the Ameers, who were passionately fond of the chase, valued it not for its commercial advantages, but chiefly on account of their *Shikargahs*, or hunting grounds, which are thick jungles, overhanging the river's edge, inclosed to preserve the game for their amusement. According to all accounts, the rule of the Ameers was unpopular with all classes of their subjects. Sir Alexander Burnes, in his 'Rough Notes on Scinde,' says, 'The chiefs of the country live entirely for themselves; they wallow in wealth, while their people are wretched; professing an enthusiastic attachment to the religion of Mahomet, they have not even a substantial mosque in their territories; and at Hyderabad, and indeed everywhere, they pray in temples of mud, and scorn elegance and comfort in all that concerns domestic life.'

Repeated treaties were made between the Ameers and the Indian Government, and in one of these, concluded in 1832, all former friendly stipulations were renewed and confirmed, and the two contracting powers bound themselves 'never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other.' At the same time the British Government obtained a passage for the merchants and traders of Hindostan by the rivers and roads of Scinde on certain specified conditions, including the payment of fixed and moderate duties on merchandise and goods. In 1836 Runjeet Singh, the ruler of the Punjaub, invaded Scinde, and captured some of its towns. The intervention of the Indian Government was solicited by the Ameers; but the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, refused to interpose his influence to induce Runjeet Singh to restore the territory he had conquered, unless a British Minister were first allowed to take up his residence at Hyderabad—a concession which the Ameers were most reluctantly compelled to make in 1838. During the Afghan war detachments of troops were marched through Scinde without the permission of its rulers, who naturally regarded such a proceeding with ill-disguised suspicion and aversion, and this feeling on their part afforded a pretext for stationing a body of troops at Kurrachee to keep the Beloochees in check. The next aggressive step was to wring another treaty from the reluctant Ameers, stipulating that a British force should be stationed at Tatta, to the west of the Indus, and that three of them should pay annually a lac of rupees (£10,000) to defray part of the expense of maintaining this force. Having by this treatment given the Ameers strong grounds for dissatisfaction, the Indian authorities alleged that they had become unfriendly to the Government, and Lord Ellenborough complained of their irregular payment of their yearly tribute, and threatened them, if they proved faithless, with the loss of their dominions. Then it was alleged that they were concerting measures of hostility against us, 'which rendered it highly probable that they would attack us on the first favourable opportunity.'

At this juncture Sir Charles Napier was appointed to the chief command of all the forces in Scinde, and was also invested with the authority of a political functionary. Lord Ellenborough, in his instructions to Sir Charles, expressed his determination to inflict signal vengeance on any Ameer or chief who should have evinced hostile designs against us during the Afghan war, at the same time naively admitting that 'it would be impossible to believe that they could entertain friendly feelings.' Ultimately the Governor-General authorized Napier to conclude a treaty with the Ameers of Hyderabad and Khyrpore, relieving them from the annual payment, but stipulating among other conditions that the British Government should have the right to fell wood within 100 yards of either bank of the Indus, for the use of steamboats, and that Kurrachee, Tatta, and other three towns, with a strip of land on each side of the river, should be ceded in perpetuity to the British Government. Major Outram, who had for some time held the office of British resident in Scinde, but had

left the country, and was on his way to England, was summarily recalled from Bombay by the Governor-General, and appointed by Sir Charles Napier to conduct the negotiations for a revised treaty. The treatment Outram had received from Lord Ellenborough made this appointment much against the grain; but on the principle which had ever guided this high-minded and most unselfish public servant throughout his whole career—implicit obedience to the orders of his superiors—he at once intimated his acceptance of the office. But, unfortunately, notwithstanding Outram's devotion to Sir Charles Napier, a difference arose between them respecting the policy which ought to be adopted towards the Ameers. Napier, who was ignorant of the language and customs of the country, had no sympathy with the Ameers, and had allowed himself to be prejudiced against its rulers by cunning and interested falsehoods, was induced to believe that though the Ameers professed submission they were in reality preparing for hostilities, and had come to the conclusion that the existing system of government in Scinde should be overturned; while Outram, who was thoroughly conversant with the real state of affairs, thought that both justice and expediency required that it should be maintained. Sir Charles unfortunately allowed himself to be made the tool of a crafty and utterly unscrupulous chief named Ali Murad, who devised a cunning plot to deprive his brother, Mir Rustam, of his office as Reis, in order that he might obtain his turban. By working on their fears, this intriguing scoundrel induced the chiefs to believe that their only resource was to defend themselves by force of arms against the machinations of British officials.

With nothing but suspicions to warrant the step, Sir Charles put his troops in motion in February, and approached Khyrpore. Mir Rustam Khan fled from his capital, and took refuge in the far-famed fortress of Emaum Ghur, situated in the midst of a desert of drifting sand, which was believed to be inaccessible to European troops. As long as they had this supposed impregnable stronghold to flee to, Napier foresaw that the Ameers would never submit. He therefore resolved, by a prompt and vigorous blow, to deprive them of this place of refuge; and he executed his design by a method singularly original and sagacious. After a march of eight days through a wilderness, at the head of only 350 men carrying with them on camels swivel guns, ammunition, and provisions, he reached the mysterious fortress only to find it deserted. He immediately caused the place to be mined and blown up, and returned across the desert without losing a single man. The Duke of Wellington described this exploit as 'one of the most curious military feats which he had ever known to be performed or ever perused an account of.'

Meanwhile the Beloochees had become furious at the treaty forced upon their rulers by the British authorities, and could no longer be restrained. On the 15th of February, 1843, the day after the treaty was signed, they made an attack on the residency at Hyderabad with a force of 8000 men and six guns, which Outram repelled with a skill and gallantry that elicited the admiration of Napier, who pronounced it a brilliant example of defending a military post. In the end the small garrison, which did not exceed 100 men, was compelled to abandon the place, and retiring in good order to the river side, they were received on board one of the steamers employed in navigating the Indus. Napier was so candid as to admit that the conquest of Scinde was determined on before the attack on the residency, and would have been carried into effect, if that incident had never taken place, on the approach of the British army.

Meanwhile the Ameers had assembled a large force at Meanee, within twenty miles of Hyderabad, with the view of intercepting Napier's march to the capital. Sir Charles promptly advanced to meet them, and on the 17th of February, at the head

of only 1800 infantry and 800 cavalry, he encountered 25,000 infantry and 10,000 irregular horsemen drawn up in a very strong position. The Beloochees fought with desperate courage, but after a struggle which lasted three hours and a half, and was attended with frightful slaughter, they were forced to give way, and were driven from the battlefield with the loss of 5000 men. The killed and wounded of the British force amounted to only 256. It is an affecting circumstance that when the Ameers saw that the day was going against them they tried with their spy-glasses to find out Major Outram, that they might surrender to a personal friend. Three days after the battle, Hyderabad, the capital of Scinde, submitted to the conqueror, and six of the Ameers came into his camp and, as prisoners of war, surrendered their swords, which Sir Charles immediately returned to them.

Meanwhile Shere Mohammed, surnamed the Lion, the bravest of the Ameers, had collected a fresh army of 25,000 men, which the British General attacked at Dubha, on the 24th of March, with 5000 men and fifteen guns. The battle was long and desperately contested. In the end the Beloochees were completely defeated. Shere Mohammed took refuge in the desert, and his principal fortress fell into the hands of the conqueror. This victory terminated the campaign, and placed at the disposal of the Indian Government the country on both sides of the Indus, from Sukkur to the sea. Scinde was formally annexed to the British dominions, and Sir Charles Napier was appointed Governor, with almost absolute power. It is only due to this illustrious soldier and disinterested administrator to state that he set himself 'to do good, to create, to end destruction, and raise up order.' He conciliated the affections of the different races inhabiting Scinde, recognized the native society, created a permanent civil administration in all its branches, planned and commenced a number of important public works, ameliorated the severity and injustice of the native law, made an end of Suttee, and by a series of masterly movements suppressed robbery and secured public tranquillity.

The benefits which Napier's administration conferred upon Scinde cannot, however, excuse the original injustice of its conquest. Major Outram, who was intimately acquainted with the whole facts of the case, felt deep sympathy with the dethroned Ameers, under the treatment which he held, and publicly declared, they had undeservedly received at the hands of the Indian Government; and on returning to England at the close of the war he felt constrained by honour and duty to represent the case of these unfortunate and ill-used chiefs in what he regarded as the true light. Sir Robert Peel, Lord Ripon, President of the Board of Control, the Duke of Wellington, and the Court of Directors, united in requesting a statement of his views on that subject. They all came to the conclusion that the annexation of Scinde was unjustifiable and impolitic, but it was unfortunately impossible to undo what had been done. On the 8th of February, 1844, Lord Ashley brought the case of the Ameers before the House of Commons, and moved that an address should be presented to Her Majesty, entreating her to direct the immediate restoration of these princes to liberty and the enjoyment of their estates, or such provision for their future maintenance as may be considered a just equivalent. The motion was, of course, opposed by the Government, and rejected by a large majority; but, as was inevitable in the circumstances of the case, the apology offered by Sir Robert Peel for the unrighteous policy of Lord Auckland and Lord Ellenborough was of the lamest and most unsatisfactory kind, and did little to remove the awful imputation cast upon them by the Ameer Moobaruck Khan: 'You tyrants! you Christians! Now we perceive there is no hope or justice for us until God Almighty shall sit in the last great judgment.'

On the 12th of February a vote of

thanks was given by both Houses of Parliament to Sir Charles Napier and the army employed in the operations on Scinde, which were eulogized in the warmest terms, especially by the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. The Lords were unanimous in agreeing to the vote; but in the Commons Lord Howick declared that, brilliant as were the victories of Hyderabad, he regarded them as stained by needless bloodshed, and nine members voted for the previous question.

Shortly after the discussions on the annexation of Scinde had terminated, the Legislature and the public learned with surprise that the Court of Directors had exercised the power which the Charter intrusted to them, 'to recall at their will and pleasure the Governor-General of India.' Macaulay, in his speech on Lord Ellenborough's proclamation respecting the gates of Somnauth, had exhorted the Court of Directors to take that step; and certainly the 'fantastic tricks' played by his lordship, his continued absence from the seat of Government, his fondness for ostentatious progresses and military parades, and the mode in which he had plunged into new wars on the most petty pretences, might well have excited the alarm of the Directors, and induced them to displace an official whose policy was fitted to excite grave apprehensions for the safety of our Indian empire. But the step appears to have been unprecedented, at least in the present century; and as eighteen out of the twenty-four Directors were stanch Conservatives, it seemed highly improbable that they would take any step calculated to embarrass the Government. As the Directors were unanimous in now adopting the resolution to recall the Governor-General, in direct opposition to the wishes of the Government, it was evident that their reasons must have been of the strongest kind. It transpired that the Directors had contemplated Lord Ellenborough's recall twelve months before, but had been induced by the remonstrances of the Ministry to abandon that intention; and the Duke of Wellington denounced the step they had at length taken in recalling 'an officer in whom the Government fully confided' as 'the most indiscreet exercise of power he had ever known.' The Directors who had seats in the House of Commons, however, declared that they were prepared to show that they had exercised the power of recall under an imperative sense of public duty; but the Ministers peremptorily refused to produce the statement transmitted to them by the Court of Directors of the reasons which had compelled them to take this step, in spite of the vehement opposition of the Government.

Sir Henry Hardinge, who held the office of Secretary at War, was nominated Lord Ellenborough's successor in the Governor-Generalship of India, and the appointment gave universal satisfaction. Sir Henry was not only a distinguished soldier, but having held the offices of Chief Secretary for Ireland and Secretary at War, he was well acquainted with administrative affairs. He was especially noted for his sound judgment and sagacity, his genial and buoyant spirit, and his excellent business habits. The Court of Directors, the Ministry, and the public alike felt confident that he would administer with discretion the government of our Eastern empire.

The recall of Lord Ellenborough prevented the discussion of a motion respecting the affairs of Gwalior, of which Mr. Macaulay had given notice in the Commons, and the Marquis of Normanby in the Lords. The Gwalior territories, which lie in the heart of our north-western possessions in India, extend over 33,119 square miles, and support a population of upwards of 3,000,000. They were governed by the family of Scindia, who, as far back as 1803, had entered into a treaty with our Indian Government, which gave the latter a right to interpose, under certain requisitions, for the protection of the sovereign and the maintenance of order in his dominions. On the decease of the Maharajah Jhunkojee Rao Scindia, without issue, in 1843, he

was succeeded by Ali Jah Jyajee Scindia, who was nearest to him in blood; and as the new Maharajah was a minor, the Maharanee, the widow of the deceased prince, with the approval of the chiefs, became Regent. The Governor-General expressed his entire approbation of this arrangement, and intimated that the new ruler would receive the support of the British Government. Disturbances, however, broke out in the country. A chief named the Dada Khasgee Walla was alleged to have gained the confidence of the Regent, and to have allowed various acts to be committed insulting to the British authorities and injurious to the peace of the country, and Lord Ellenborough thought fit to demand that the Dada should be delivered as a prisoner into the charge of the British Government. It was not denied that this proceeding was an infringement of the rights of the native sovereign; but Lord Ellenborough defended it on the ground that it did not appear possible to provide for the security of the Dada's person within the Gwalior territory. The Maharanee had no resource but to comply with this imperious and unwarrantable demand, which was followed by a complaint of the want of cordial co-operation on the part of the officers of the Gwalior state in the maintenance of order upon the frontier; and Lord Ellenborough declared that he must now peremptorily insist upon the adoption of permanent measures for that purpose. He added that the deplorable events that had recently occurred in Gwalior—the hostile conflicts in the camp, and the practical suspension of all government of His Highness' territories—now imposed upon the British Government the duty of intervention, not solely for the security of British interests, but for the execution, according to its 'true spirit and intentions,' of the treaty of Bhurrampore. He admitted that according to that treaty this intervention was only to be made on the requisition of the Maharajah; but as the present prince was not old enough to take this step, 'it would be inconsistent,' he said, 'with the good faith and injurious to the good name of the British Government, were it to permit this inability to demand aid to deprive His Highness of that aid' which the treaty was intended to secure.

On this shallow pretext a powerful force, amounting to 14,000 men, with forty pieces of artillery, commanded by Sir Hugh Gough, and accompanied by the Governor-General in person, left Agra towards the end of December, and crossed the Chumbal river, with the professed object of establishing the just authority of the Maharajah over all his subjects, and placing upon firmer and permanent foundations the friendship between the two states. The Mahratta chiefs, however, appear to have had no great confidence in the peaceful intentions of the warlike Viceroy, and they mustered their forces for the defence of their country. When the British army, on the 29th of December, crossed the Koharee river, they found the Mahratta forces, mustering from 14,000 to 18,000 men, including 3000 cavalry, with 100 guns, drawn up in front of the village of Mahrajpoor, about fifteen miles north-east of Gwalior, in a very strong position, which they had carefully entrenched. Although the Mahrattas fought with the most desperate courage, they were ultimately driven from their position, with the loss of fifty-six pieces of artillery and all their ammunition waggons. The total loss of the British in killed, wounded, and missing, was 797, including seven officers, who either fell on the field or subsequently died of their wounds. The Mahrattas are said to have lost between 3000 and 4000 men.

On the same day another victory was gained by Major-General Grey, who had advanced on Gwalior from Bundelcund with a division of between 8000 and 9000 men. Crossing the river Sinde at Chandpore this force marched to Puniar, twelve miles south-west of Gwalior, and there encountered a body of Mahrattas about 12,000 strong, with twenty-four guns, occupying a strong posi-

tion on the heights near the fortified village of Mangore. Although the British troops were fatigued by their long march, they at once attacked the enemy, and after a stubborn conflict routed them, with the loss of all their artillery. These two victories, according to the high-sounding proclamation of the Governor-General, 'while they shed new glory upon the British army, restored the authority of the Maharajah, and gave new security to the British empire in India.' 'A strong government,' according to Lord Ellenborough's ideas, was established; a British officer was appointed governor of the fort of Gwalior, which commands the city; the Mahratta troops were disbanded; a British contingent, consisting of seven regiments of infantry and two of cavalry, was to be maintained in the country at the cost of the Gwalior Government, which was also compelled to pay at once the expenses of the campaign; and the youthful Prince and the Regent were left to meditate on the British mode of interpreting treaties, and the blessings of British intervention within the territories of Gwalior.

The attention of the British Parliament at this period was mainly occupied with financial measures. The cloud which for several seasons had rested on the industrial interests of the country, both agricultural and commercial, had now passed away, and the revival of trade and commerce had produced a favourable change in the public finance. Among other ways, this was shown in a very considerable rise of the national securities. The 3½ per cent. consols were now at 102½. The Government took advantage of the favourable opportunity to make a reduction of the rate of interest to 3¼ for ten years, and then to 3 per cent., by which, during the first period, there would be an annual saving of £625,000, and afterwards of £1,250,000 a year. A great improvement had taken place in the duties paid on tea and sugar, and wine, and cotton work, and numerous other articles consumed or worn by the people; so that, while the total revenue for the year had been estimated at £50,150,000, the sum actually received was £52,835,134. At the same time the actual expenditure had been less than the estimate by £650,000. The gross surplus at the disposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer amounted to £4,165,000, which, after clearing off last year's deficiency, left a net surplus of £1,400,000.

There was, of course, a scramble among the different 'interests' for a share of this money. One of the members for Northumberland, a great coal proprietor, complained that the Government had not proposed a reduction of the duty on that article; another recommended the total abolition of the duty on soap, on paper, and on glass; a third expressed his dissatisfaction because the surplus revenue was not applied to the extinction of the duty on cotton. The chief struggle was over the differential sugar duties, which the Government still proposed to continue in favour of the sugar produced by our West Indian colonies, and against the sugar grown in countries where slavery existed. Two resolutions on the subject were brought forward by Mr. Goulbourn—first, 'That sugar certified to be the growth of China, Java, Manilla, or other countries where no slave labour was employed, should be admitted at a duty of 34*s.*, while the duty on colonial sugar remained as before at 24*s.*;' and secondly, 'That Her Majesty should be authorized by an Order in Council to give effect to any existing treaties by which she was bound to admit the sugars of any foreign country at the same duties as are imposed on the produce of the most favoured nation.' Lord John Russell moved an amendment to the effect that the duty of 34*s.* should be charged on brown or Muscavado sugar, 'the produce of any country.' He maintained that we had nothing to do with the social institutions of the nations that were willing to trade with us, and ridiculed the idea of our country erecting a pulpit in the long-room of its custom-house, and transforming its tide-waiters into preachers of anti-slavery doctrines. After all, the

attempted exclusion of slave-grown sugar was futile. What was thus forbidden directly was permitted circuitously, for we were willing to refine and export this slave-grown sugar, and to take the hemp and tallow of Russia in its stead, which seemed to be a very easy way of letting down our consciences.

This argument was put by Mr. Cobden in a felicitous and characteristic manner in one of his Covent Garden speeches. After mentioning that the pretence for monopoly in sugar was not that it benefited the revenue or the farmer in England or the negro in the West Indies, but that we must not buy sugar that had been produced by slave labour, he proceeded to say, 'I believe that the ambassador from the Brazils is here at present, and I think I can imagine an interview between him and the President of the Board of Trade:—He delivers his credentials: he has come to arrange a treaty of commerce. I think I see the President of the Board of Trade calling up a solemn, earnest, pious expression, and saying, "You are from the Brazils: we shall be happy to trade with you, but we cannot conscientiously receive slave-grown produce." His Excellency is a good man of business, so he says, "Well, then, we will see if we can trade together in some way. What have you to sell us?" "Why," replies the President of the Board of Trade, "cotton goods; in these articles we are the largest exporters in the world." "Indeed!" exclaims his Excellency; "cotton, did you say? Where is cotton brought from?" "Why," replies the minister, "hem! chiefly from the United States;" and at once the question will be, "Pray, is it free-grown cotton or slave-grown cotton?" Now, I leave you to imagine the answer, and I leave you also to picture the countenance of the President of the Board of Trade. Do you know how the law stands with regard to the sugar trade at present? We send our manufactures to Brazil, and we bring back Brazilian sugar; that sugar is refined in this country, refined in bonding warehouses, that is, warehouses where English people are not allowed to get at it, and then it is sent abroad by our merchants, by those very men who are now preaching against the consumption of slave-grown sugar. Ay, those very men and their connections who are loudest in their appeals against slave-grown sugar, have bonding warehouses in Liverpool and London, and send this sugar to Russia, to China, to Turkey, to Poland, to Egypt—in short, to any country under the sun; to countries, too, having a population of 500,000,000. Yet these very men will not allow you to have slave-grown sugar.'

The amendment of Lord John Russell was rejected by a majority of sixty-nine. But a much more formidable attack was made upon the Ministerial scheme by the Protectionists, led by Mr. P. Miles, member for Bristol. When the Bill went into Committee (June 14), he moved a resolution, which had been prepared by the West India body in the city, that the duty on colonial and East India sugar should be lowered to 20*s.* instead of the 24*s.* proposed by the Government, and that the duty on 'white-clayed, or equivalent to white-clayed'—partially refined—sugar produced by foreign free labour, should be 34*s* It was clear that if this proposal had been carried into effect it would have raised the differential duty between colonial and other sugar from 10*s.* to 14*s.*, and have caused a serious diminution in the revenue. But Lord John Russell and a number of other Whigs and Free Traders gave it their support, and it was carried against the Government by a majority of twenty.

This untoward incident was the cause of a good deal of excitement and anxiety. A meeting of the Cabinet was held next day, and Sir Robert Peel and the leading members of his Administration saw clearly that the adverse vote was due in part to the dissatisfaction of a considerable number of their ordinary supporters; and as it was impossible to carry out the financial policy which they had adopted without the full

support and confidence of their party, they were disposed to resign at once. The mutinous section of the Conservatives were, however, alarmed at the probable consequences of their action. A meeting of the usual supporters of the Ministry was held on the morning of the 18th, at which it was resolved that they would give the Government their general and united support. When the House met in Committee in the evening, the Premier distinctly intimated that the decision on the point at issue would determine the fate of the Ministry, and the vote of the 14th on Mr. Miles' proposition was reversed by a majority of twenty-two in a House of 488 members. The Ministerial Bill became law on the 4th of July.

Another financial measure of great importance—the renewal of the Bank Charter—was carried through Parliament this session. When a new charter was granted to the Bank of England in 1833 it was provided that it might be modified at the end of ten years, and the Government resolved that they would take advantage of this provision. The currency question had of late excited a great deal of discussion, and various theories had been advocated by financiers and political economists of great ability and experience. The Ministerial plan was therefore looked for with great interest, and the clear and full exposition of it given by the Prime Minister himself was listened to by the House with the most profound attention.

After laying down the principles on which his scheme was based, he proceeded to say—'I propose, with respect to the Bank of England, that there should be an actual reformation of the two departments of issue and banking; that there should be different officers to each, and a different system of account. I likewise propose that to the issue department should be transferred the whole amount of the bullion now in the possession of the Bank, and that the issue of bank-notes should hereafter take place on two foundations only—first, on a definite amount of securities, and after that exclusively upon bullion, so that the action of the public should, in this latter respect, govern the amount of the circulation. There will be no power in the Bank to issue notes on deposits and discount of bills, and the issue department will have to place to the credit of the banking department the amount of notes which the issue department will by law be entitled to issue. With respect to the banking business of the bank I propose that it should be governed on precisely the same principles as would regulate any other body dealing with Bank of England notes. The fixed amount of securities on which I propose that the Bank of England should issue is £14,000,000, and the whole of the remainder of the circulation is to be issued exclusively on the foundation of bullion. I propose that there should be a complete and periodical publication of the accounts of the Bank of England, both of the banking and issue department, as tending to increase the credit of the Bank, and to prevent panic and needless alarm. I would therefore enact that there should be returned to the Government a weekly account of the issue of notes by the Bank of England, of the amount of bullion, of the fluctuations of the bullion, of the amount of deposits; in short, an account of every transaction both in the issue department and banking department of the Bank of England; and that Government should forthwith publish unreservedly and weekly a full account of the circulation of the bank. With regard to private banks, the general rule will be to draw a distinction between the privilege of issue and the conduct of banking business; the object being to limit competition, but to make the great change with as little detriment as possible to private interests. From this time no new bank of issue will be constituted, but all the existing banks of issue will be allowed to retain the privilege on condition that they do not exceed the present amount, to be calculated on the average of a term of years.

'This is necessary to enable the Bank of

England to know the extent of issue with which it will have to compete. But while the issues will be restricted, banking business will be facilitated; the privilege of suing and being sued, at present withheld from joint-stock banks, will be accorded; the law of partnership will be so altered that while the acts of an individual director or other authorized partner will bind the whole, the acts of an unauthorized partner will not do so. Joint-stock banks in London, which at present are forbidden to accept bills for a date of less than six months, will be placed on an equality with other banks, and allowed to accept bills of any amount or date. If the last privilege should be abused by the circulation of small bills, I shall at once appeal to Parliament to correct the evil. Joint-stock banks will be required to publish a full and complete periodical list of all partners, and directors, and banks of issues—a much better security for the public than many delusive checks to which my attention has been invited. Joint-stock banks will be prohibited from having shares less than some fixed amount, and no new joint-stock bank shall be constituted except on application to a Government department. I now revert to my propositions respecting the Bank of England. It is to be allowed issues to the extent of a fixed amount of securities to £14,000,000. The existing loan of £11,000,000 to the Government will be continued, the remaining £3,000,000 will be based on exchequer bills and other securities over which the Bank will have entire control. It will also be allowed to extend its issues beyond the £14,000,000 on emergency, but only with the consent of three members of the Government; and in such a case the whole of the net profit on any amount beyond £14,000,000 will revert to the Government. It is proposed to continue the legal tender clause in order to facilitate the circulation of bank paper.

'I must now explain the pecuniary arrangement between the Bank and the Government. The Bank retains the privilege of issuing notes on securities to the amount of £14,000,000, at three per cent., which would yield £420,000. From this there are deductions to be made. The total cost to the Bank on an issue of £20,000,000 leaves £307,000. There is then to be deducted about £60,000 composition with the Stamp Office for the privilege of issuing notes. Then there is about £24,000 paid by the bank to those bankers who undertake to issue Bank of England notes. This leaves £250,000 derived from the issue of notes. Hitherto the Bank has paid £120,000 to Government for its privileges. They are now to be affected; but, on the other hand, increased stability is given to its banking business, and I propose that in future the bank shall pay that sum, besides the £60,000 for the composition with the Stamp Office, making in all about £180,000. Government pay to the bank £248,000 for the management of the public debt; and the difference between the two last sums will be the balance that the Government will have to pay over to the Bank. This measure applies only to England, the subject of Scotch and Irish banks being reserved for future consideration.'

The plan thus lucidly explained by the Prime Minister met with cordial approbation from both sides of the House. An amendment proposed by Mr. Hawes, 'that no sufficient evidence has been laid before the House to justify the proposed interference with banks of issue in the management of their circulation,' obtained only thirty supporters. The Bill passed through the House of Lords without opposition, or even without remark, and became law on the 19th of July. The measure thus adopted with such remarkable unanimity still continues to regulate the banking issues of the country; but some eminent financial authorities are of opinion, with Mr. John Stuart Mill, that 'the disadvantages greatly preponderate' over its advantages.

A singular outbreak—usually termed the Rebecca riots—took place at this time in

South Wales, a district which had long been remarkable for its tranquillity and industry. The inhabitants, whose peaceable and orderly conduct was deserving of the highest commendation, had long complained, but without effect, of the heavy and vexatious tolls to which they were subjected. These exactions were undoubtedly most oppressive, especially to the small farmers, who believed that they were also illegal. Finding that peaceful complaints were of no avail, they were at length provoked into taking active measures to remedy their grievances. Their first proceeding, which took place in 1839, was to break down in open day the gates of a toll-house on the borders of Caermarthenshire; and as the trustees did not venture to re-erect the obnoxious barricades, the gate-breakers, who had thus learned their power, were emboldened to undertake a systematic and organized crusade against the turnpikes throughout the whole district. The chief of the rioters assumed the name of 'Rebecca,' from a strange application of a passage in the book of Genesis characteristic of the simple-minded inhabitants of the Principality, who are in the habit of expressing their thoughts and feelings in Scriptural language. The blessing which Laban's household bestowed upon Rebekah, 'that her seed should possess the *gate* of those which hated them,' was applied to the turnpike gates which had been so oppressive to the people of South Wales, and was supposed to sanction their attempts to demolish them. Their chief, named Rebecca, was dressed in woman's clothes and wore a high bonnet for the purpose of disguise, and his followers were designated Rebecca's daughters. They began systematic operations, and in the winter of 1842 and 1843 carried them on with singular dexterity and address. Under cover of darkness a crowd, some on horseback, some on foot, some in women's clothes, others with veiled faces, suddenly appeared at the turnpike gate which was to be thrown down, amid the blowing of cow-horns and the firing of guns. The toll-keepers were allowed a few minutes to remove their furniture into a neighbouring field or dry ditch, and were assisted in the work by some of Rebecca's daughters. The gate-posts were then sawed off close to the ground, the gates broken to fragments, and the toll-house razed to its foundation. No personal violence, however, was offered to the toll-keeper or his family, and none of his property was ever injured or carried off. As soon as their work was finished, which usually occupied only a few minutes, the rioters leaped on their horses again, amid loud shouts and the blowing of horns and firing of guns, and galloped off to some distant spot, where a similar feat was performed. In a short space of time no fewer than eighty gates had been destroyed in Caermarthenshire alone, and in the counties of Pembroke and Cardigan the work of demolition was carried on in the same wholesale manner. The few that were allowed to remain were the old-established gates, of which no complaint had been made. The trustees at first re-erected, sometimes oftener than once, some of the gates that had been broken down; but they were at once demolished by the Rebeccaites, and the trustees were at length compelled to desist from their fruitless labour, and the roads were left almost entirely free of toll-bars.

The efforts which were made by the local magistrates, or even by the police and the soldiers sent into the district, to discover and arrest the various leaders of these outbreaks, or Rebecca's daughters, completely failed; and encouraged by their unchecked success they began to turn their attention to other real or supposed grievances, which they attempted to redress in the same manner. It has been positively asserted, and with every appearance of probability, that some unprincipled Chartist agitators visited South Wales at this juncture, and induced the simple-minded Welshmen to change the character of their movement. Under the guidance of these unscrupulous advisers they now denounced

the Poor Law Amendment Act, the new Tithe Law, fees paid to magistrates' clerks, the increase of the county rates, and the alleged extortionate rates exacted by the landlords. Meetings were held in secluded spots in the hollows of the hills, at which the Chartist Tories opposed Free-trade, and endeavoured to persuade the thrifty hard-working tenants of small farms that if the Corn Laws were repealed they would be ruined. Excited by these inflammatory harangues the Rebeccaites sent threatening letters to magistrates, clergymen, and others who had attempted to stop their proceedings, and collected in crowds to pull down workhouses, and to compel the reduction of rents. They surrounded and disarmed the police, and fired shots into the houses of those against whom they had taken offence. A strong body of police and troops were sent down with all speed to suppress the insurrection; and on their arrival they found a mob of several thousands, with Rebecca at their head, in possession of the town of Caermarthen, busily engaged in gutting and destroying the workhouse, as they had threatened to do. Several hundreds of the rioters were apprehended, and a few of them slightly wounded in resisting the attempts of the soldiers to dislodge them. These outrages still continued, and became more violent and destructive. A band of armed men in disguise traversed the country, destroying the gates that had been left, and setting fire to the stacks of the magistrates who had been active in suppressing the riots. They at length deliberately shot an old woman of seventy, who kept a gate which they had resolved to pull down, and who, while they were setting fire to the thatch of the toll-house, unfortunately for herself, called out that she knew them. At the coroner's inquest the jury confessed privately that they were afraid to do their duty; and though the facts of the case were clearly stated in evidence, they brought in a verdict 'that the deceased died from the effusion of blood into the chest, which occasioned suffocation, but from what cause is to this jury unknown.'

The Government were at length compelled to interfere for the suppression of outrages which rendered both life and property insecure, and were threatening to disorganize society. A special commission was sent down to try the prisoners, and another commission was appointed to inquire into the causes which had led to such serious disturbances. Three of the ring-leaders were sentenced to transportation, and the sentence of imprisonment was passed on others of the rioters. The commission of inquiry made a careful and thorough investigation into the complaints of the inhabitants of the disturbed districts, and discovered that their grievances were real and intolerable, and had pressed upon them with peculiar severity at this time in consequence of the deep poverty of the people. It is a pleasing sign of the great change for the better that had taken place in regard both to administration and legislation, that no time was lost in removing the abuses of which the people justly complained. The whole system of turnpike trusts in South Wales was remodelled, and the country speedily returned to its habitual state of order and tranquillity.

While the Government were thus engaged in redressing the grievances of the Welsh, they were suddenly assailed on account of another affair of far inferior importance, but which excited much greater interest both in Parliament and in the country. On the 14th of June, 1844, a petition was presented by Mr. Thomas Duncombe, one of the members for Finsbury, from four persons, two of whom were foreigners and two were Chartists, complaining that letters addressed to them had been opened at the Post Office. Sir James Graham, the Home Secretary, stated in reply to Mr. Duncombe's demand for an explanation, that the Secretaries of State were authorized by a law of long standing, which had been renewed so late as 1837, to open and detain letters on their respon-

sibility; that with regard to three of the petitioners their letters had never been meddled with, but that he had exercised the power intrusted to him by law with regard to the fourth, and had issued a warrant ordering that his letters should be opened and examined. Sir James declined to say which of the four was the individual referred to, but it was generally understood that it was Joseph Mazzini, an Italian exile, whose letters had been subjected to this inspection. A tremendous outburst of indignation followed this avowal, and the most scurrilous abuse was heaped upon the Home Secretary, who was represented as the spy of foreign despots, and the tool of Lord Aberdeen, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs. A select committee of each House was appointed to make inquiry into the affair—secretly, as such a delicate matter required—to ascertain the duties of the persons employed in the department of the Post Office called the 'secret' or 'inner' office, and the authority under which these functions were discharged. They found, what was already known to members on both sides of the House who had been in office, that the authority in question was set forth in the preamble of the Acts by which the Post Office was established; that it had been since revised and confirmed; that it had been exercised by successive administrations, both Whig and Tory, by Mr. Fox in 1782, and by Lord Normanby during his Irish viceroyalty, for the detection of 'low Ribbonism which could not be ferreted out by other means;' that from 1799 to 1844 the number of warrants issued was on an average only eight a year, and that Sir James Graham had used his power more scrupulously and carefully than his predecessors. The report of the Parliamentary Committees completely vindicated the conduct of the Home Secretary, and showed that it was necessary for the public security that the Government should be intrusted with this power of detecting conspiracies against the welfare either of our own or of other countries. No reasonable person will deny that the asylum afforded to an exile by Great Britain is given on the distinct understanding, that he is not to avail himself of the protection which he thus enjoys to contrive plots against foreign Governments in alliance with us. And though the fact was not generally known at the time, it was afterwards ascertained, and indeed avowed, that Mazzini during his residence in London was actively engaged in organizing insurrections against Austria and Sardinia.

The jealous and irritated feeling that France had entertained towards England, in consequence of the manner in which the Eastern question was settled, had now to a considerable extent abated; and the visit which Queen Victoria and Prince Albert paid to the French King at Château d'Eu, near Tréport, in the autumn of 1843, had contributed to strengthen the cordial relations which had always existed between the royal families of England and France, and to lessen the asperity which still lingered among the Parisians towards Great Britain. Unfortunately a new cause of offence speedily arose, not owing in any degree to Louis Philippe or his Ministers, but to the excitable state of feeling among his vain and irritable subjects, who were constantly under the influence of jealousy towards 'perfidious Albion.' The island of Otaheite, or Tahiti as it is now called, was at this time governed by a native Queen named Pomare, an old ally of Britain, who with the great body of her subjects had been converted to the Christian faith by missionaries sent out by the London Missionary Society. In Sept. 1842, a French Admiral named Dupetet Thouars, who exhibited the less estimable qualities of his countrymen in an eminent degree, had coerced this Tahitian sovereign into a treaty placing her dominions under the protection of France. Her subjects were dissatisfied with this arrangement, and showed in various ways their dislike to the French intruders, which the Admiral

thought fit to attribute to the influence of the English missionaries resident on the island. After an absence of a year Admiral Dupetet Thouars returned to Tahiti in November, 1843, and insisted, without right or reason, that Queen Pomare should hoist the French flag over or instead of her own; and on her refusal to do so he landed a body of troops, hauled down the Tahitian flag, and made proclamation that he had taken possession of the island in the name of the French King. A Frenchman of the name of M. d'Aubigny was at the same time installed Governor of Tahiti.

When the news of this unwarrantable proceeding reached France it was at once disavowed by the Government, though a party in the French Chambers chose to assert that the 'banner of France having once been planted in Tahiti, it could not be struck without dishonour;' and, of course, the Opposition described the disavowal of the conduct of the French Admiral to the influence of the British Government. The French Ministry, they declared, had been guilty of putting France at the feet of England. M. Guizot, in defending the action of the French Ministry, emphatically declared that it was in no way owing to any interference on the part of England; and when Lord Aberdeen was questioned in Parliament on the subject of the French treaty he declared that the Ministry had nothing to do with it — that it assured perfect religious liberty to the Tahitians; and that all possible protection and encouragement would be given to the missionaries.

Scarcely had the moderation of the two Governments averted a rupture in connection with this affair when they were once more put in danger of being embroiled by the folly, vanity, and rashness of the French Admiral at Tahiti. It appears that the French had made themselves unpopular among the natives, and on the 22nd of March, 1844, they seized and disarmed one of the sentinels. This act of the Tahitians was made the pretext for seizing and imprisoning, 'in reprisal,' Mr. Pritchard, the British Consul, who was also an active and influential Protestant missionary resident on the island. The natives had firmly refused to have anything to do with the Roman Catholic missionaries, who had come out in a body to convert the islanders to the Romish faith; and they imputed the failure of their mission to Pritchard's influence. There was strong reason to suspect that they had instigated the hot-headed and indiscreet French Governor to seize their formidable and obnoxious opponent. He was released from prison only on condition of instantly leaving the Pacific, which he was obliged to do, without even seeing his family, and reached England by way of Valparaiso. When the news of this unprovoked outrage upon the British Consul reached this country it excited a strong feeling of indignation among all classes and parties, and even Sir Robert Peel, usually so calm and moderate, denounced it in Parliament in indignant terms. 'I do not hesitate,' he said, 'to declare that a great insult, accompanied with a gross indignity, has been committed by an official clothed with a temporary authority, and, so far as we can discern, by the direction of the French Government.' The whole country was speedily in flame, which was all the more easily kindled on account of the smouldering irritation occasioned by the high-handed and unjust manner in which Queen Pomare had been coerced into submitting to the French protectorate. The appeal which the poor Tahitian sovereign made to the Queen of Great Britain for assistance, added fuel to the flame. 'Do not cast me away, my friend,' she said; 'I run to you for refuge, to be covered under your great shadow; the same that afforded relief to my fathers by your fathers, who are now dead, and whose kingdoms have descended to us, the weaker vessels.' Public meetings were held in all the large towns, and indignant speeches delivered by leading men of all religious denomina-

tions, demanding reparation for the outrage both on Pritchard and Queen Pomare. On the other hand there was a numerous party in France who chose to imagine that Great Britain wished to obtain Tahiti for herself, and that it would lower the dignity and degrade the honour of France to make any concession or reparation. It appeared at one time as if the two countries were on the verge of war. The French King and his Ministers regarded the question at issue in a very different light, and were most anxious to preserve the peace with Britain; but so strong was the excitement in France, fanned as it was by the Parisian journals, that they were afraid to run counter to the popular feeling. They deferred the settlement of the question as long as possible, and it was only after protracted negotiations that on 5th September, the last day of the session of 1844, Sir Robert Peel was able to announce to Parliament that the question in dispute had been amicably settled, and that the French Government had agreed to compensate Mr. Pritchard for his sufferings and losses. 'The French keep us constantly in hot water,' wrote the Queen to her uncle, King Leopold. 'The good ending of our difficulties with France is an immense blessing; but it is really and truly necessary that you and those in Paris should know that the danger was *imminent*.'

Sir Robert Peel had introduced the judicious practice of bringing forward his budget at a very early period of the session, and accordingly ten days after the session of 1845 commenced he laid before the House of Commons his financial statement, one of the boldest and wisest he ever produced. The harvest of 1844 was good, provisions were moderate in price, trade was flourishing, and the revenue had increased so largely that, notwithstanding the great reduction of taxes on the tariff of 1842, the surplus amounted to £5,800,000. Emboldened by this satisfactory result of his financial policy he resolved to carry still further his reductions and abolitions of duties, and to set free a great number of articles which were still burdened with restrictions. He proposed to abolish at one stroke all export duties, including those upon coals; the duty upon auctions; the whole duty of 300 per cent. upon glass—a most vexatious and injurious impost; the whole import duties upon cotton; to reduce the duty upon unrefined sugar from the West Indies and the Mauritius from 28*s.* 3*d.* to 14*s.*, and that on East India sugar to 18*s.* 8*d.* and on foreign free-labour sugar to 9*s.* 4*d.* He proposed to relieve the raw material of silk, hemp, and flax, certain yarns, dye-woods, staves for coopers' work, and to erase altogether from the excise book 300 smaller articles which, under the tariff of 1842, still continued to pay customs. These remissions of taxation, which would involve a loss to the revenue of £320,000, were well fitted to bestow an immense boon on the poorer classes, and to promote the prosperity of trade and commerce.

At the same time the rapidly extending commerce of the country required increased naval guardianship; and new naval stations had to be established in the Chinese seas, in the Pacific, and on the coast of Africa. He therefore asked an increase of £1,500,000 for the navy and ordnance estimates, and proposed that for the security of our ports seven sail of the line should be always available in the Channel, and three on foreign stations.

Lord John Russell criticised the details of the budget with considerable asperity; and Mr. Roebuck, in a long and able speech, insisted that 'professions, trades, and offices' should be subjected to a discriminating rate of taxation under the income tax, which pressed most unjustly on these classes. Mr. Bankes, as the champion of the agriculturists, complained that by the Ministerial plan 'everything is given to the mercantile and nothing to the agricultural interest.' A good many members stated objections to one or other portion of the scheme. Mr. Milner Gibson

moved a resolution against differential duties on sugar, which, however, was rejected by a majority of 217 votes to 84; and the income tax was continued by a majority of 208 in a House of 318.

The Protectionist party were strongly dissatisfied with the whole tenor of Sir Robert Peel's financial policy, and complained bitterly of the injury which the new sliding scale and tariff had inflicted on the landlords and farmers by largely increasing the importation of wheat and of foreign cattle. Mr. Miles, as the spokesman of the party, insisted that in order to alleviate the agricultural distress the charges connected with the administration of justice and of the registration of voters, amounting to £300,000 a year, should be transferred from the county rate to the Exchequer. He therefore moved that, 'in the application of surplus revenue towards relieving the burden of the country by reduction or remission of taxation, due regard should be had to the necessity of affording relief to the agricultural interest.' These and other demands of a similar kind had frequently before been made by the agriculturists and rejected by the House of Commons; but the debate on Mr. Miles' motion was rendered memorable by the attack, the first of a series, which Mr. Disraeli made in connection with it on the Prime Minister.

After repeated and unsuccessful attempts to obtain a seat in Parliament by the support of a coalition of Radicals and Conservatives, Benjamin Disraeli was at length returned in the Conservative interest, at the general election of 1837, as one of the members for the borough of Maidstone. When the Conservatives obtained office in 1841 Mr. Disraeli, who now represented Shrewsbury, and had supported the policy of the new Prime Minister, might not have unreasonably expected to have been rewarded with a place; but he was not included in the new Government. There was much in the appearance, the manners, the character, and style of speaking of the young politician and novel writer, calculated to repel a staid, sober, reserved man ilke Peel. His dandified dress and appearance, as described by Willis in his 'Pencillings by the Way,' his dress coat of black velvet lined with white satin, his splendidly embroidered waistcoat, large fancy-pattern pantaloons, innumerable chains about his neck and pockets, and jet-black well-oiled ringlets, contributed to render him ridiculous in the estimation of sober English Conservatives; while his peculiar style of parliamentary oratory obtained for him the reputation of an eccentric and audacious adventurer. At this juncture he organized the 'Young England' party, long ago extinct, composed of a number of clever and sentimental young Conservatives, full of enthusiasm and poetic aspirations, who proposed to elevate the condition of the agricultural classes by reviving the Saturnian age in England. As leader of this section of the party he acquired the reputation of a dexterous and sarcastic debater, though he was still without weight or respect in the House. He availed himself of the growing dissatisfaction of the Protectionist party to taunt the Prime Minister with his political tergiversation, and to charge him with having betrayed the party that raised him to power. He believed Protection now, he said, 'to be about in the same condition that Protestantism was in 1820. The country will draw its moral.' 'For my part,' he added, 'if we are to have free trade, I, who honour genius, prefer that such measures should be proposed by the hon. member for Stockport [Mr. Cobden] than by one who through skilful Parliamentary manœuvres has tampered with the generous confidence of a great people and of a great party. For myself, I care not what may be the result. Dissolve, if you please, the Parliament you have betrayed, and appeal to the people who, I believe, mistrust you. For me there remains this at least, the opportunity of expressing thus publicly my belief that a Conservative Government is an organized

hypocrisy.' A speech of this character, though it might gratify the indignation of the extreme Protectionists, was not likely to make converts to their opinions; and the motion of Mr. Miles obtained only 78 supporters in a House of 291 members.

It was not his financial measures alone which created among the Conservative party distrust of their great leader. The Queen's speech, at the opening of the session of 1845, recommended to the favourable consideration of Parliament the propriety of improving and extending the opportunities for academical education in Ireland; and on the 3rd of April Sir Robert Peel proposed that a large increase should be made to the sum annually voted for the support of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. This institution was founded by Pitt in 1795, during the war with France, for the education of the Roman Catholic clergy. The Irish Romanists had hitherto drawn their supply of spiritual instructors mainly from the Continent; but apprehensions were now entertained that the clergy who were trained in French seminaries would be imbued with revolutionary notions which would render them dangerous to the public safety, and it was therefore deemed expedient to make provision for the training of clerical instructors at home. The experiment had certainly not been successful. The priest who had received his education at Douay or St. Omer, along with the laymen of his church, was almost always a gentleman in his feelings, tastes, and habits, was well acquainted with the world, and liberal in his sentiments. The Maynooth trained priests, on the other hand, had proved narrow in their views, intolerant towards Protestants, and the reverse of loyal to the sovereign. Prelates and priests alike were violent supporters of the Repeal agitation. Sir Robert Peel, however, considered that if the seminary were more liberally supported, and a more comfortable provision made both for the professors and the students, the results would be more satisfactory. He accordingly proposed to increase the grant from the Consolidated Fund from £9000 to £26,000 a year; to allot a definite portion of that sum to the support of the students, who were to be restricted to 500 in number, and the sum of £6000 to furnish salaries for the professors. The trustees were to be incorporated and authorized to hold real property to the extent of £3000 per annum, 'should members of the Roman Catholic faith be desirous to contribute to the college so incorporated.'

The proposal excited the most violent opposition both in Parliament and the country. Sir Robert Inglis and other Churchmen of his class resisted the scheme on the specific ground that it was an endowment of Popery, while Mr. Duncombe and Mr. Muntz opposed it on the general principle of objection to all State endowments of religion. On the other hand, it was zealously advocated, not only by the more liberal followers of Sir Robert Peel, such as Lord Lincoln, Lord Francis Egerton, Lord Sandon, and John Stuart Wortley, but also by Lord John Russell, Mr. Macaulay, and Sir George Grey, who argued that the increase of the grant was necessary to provide respectable education and bare comforts to the students and their teachers; that if the college were to be maintained at all, it ought to be maintained in an efficient manner; and that as it was already in existence, and was supported by public money, there was no more question of principle involved in granting a larger sum than there would be in the sacrifice of a pound instead of a penny-weight on the altar of a heathen god. Mr. Disraeli delivered a speech, described by Roebuck as being as poor in execution as it was malicious in motive, which had little or no bearing on the question at issue, but was devoted to an attack upon the Prime Minister, ridiculing his 'three courses,' and designating him a Conservative dictator, who had drilled the House of Lords into a guard-room, and degraded the House of

Commons into a vestry. Mr. Cobden both spoke and voted for the Bill, regarding it simply and purely as an extended educational grant. Mr. Bright, on the other hand, opposed it on the ground that no purely ecclesiastical institution should be supported out of the public taxes. Mr. Gladstone had resigned the office of President of the Board of Trade at the beginning of the session, on the plea that though he now approved of the Maynooth grant, he had laid down a different view in his work on the relations between Church and State, and he was of opinion that 'as a general rule those who have borne solemn testimony on great constitutional questions ought not be parties to proposing a material departure from them.' He, however, delivered a speech in support of the Bill, but at the same time was constrained to admit that its opponents represented the prevailing sense of a great majority of the people of England and Scotland. The whole country, indeed, was in a state of the utmost excitement, and public meetings to remonstrate against the measure were held in every town. The requisition for the meeting at London Tavern was signed by upwards of a hundred of the leading merchants, bankers, and traders in the city; and one of the resolutions declared the proposed grant to be a renunciation of the Protestant religion, under which the empire had flourished. The Dublin Protestant Operative Association demanded the impeachment of the Prime Minister. Some members of Parliament were called on by their constituents to resign their seats, and numbers more were distinctly informed that they would be ejected on the first opportunity. The tables of both Houses of Parliament groaned under the load of petitions against the scheme, signed by many thousands both of Churchmen and Nonconformists, who evidently dreaded that it was only the forerunner of a proposal to endow the Roman Catholic clergy. The Bill was resisted at every stage with the utmost vehemence and pertinacity, but it passed the second reading by a majority of 323 votes against 176. A very significant statement was made by Sir Robert Peel at the close of his speech on the second reading, which clearly indicated that he was well aware what was foreboded by the desertion of 100 of his usual supporters in connection with this measure. 'I freely own,' he said, 'that every feeling with regard to imputations of inconsistency, every feeling with regard to the security of the Government, is subordinate to one—do not reject this measure. As I said before, punish us, visit us with censure; let the two parties combine on the ground that this policy ought to be carried out by those who were the original projectors; take what course you please; but do not let your indignation fall upon the measure—let it be confined to those who have opposed it. We have been responsible for the peace of Ireland, and I tell you that you must in some way or other break up that formidable confederacy which exists against the British Government and the British connection. I do not believe that you can break it up by force. I believe you can do much by acting in a spirit of kindness, forbearance, and generosity. There rises in the far west a cloud, small indeed, but threatening future storms. [An allusion to the Oregon question.] Ministers were lately called upon to declare that they were prepared and determined to defend the rights of this country. I own to you that when I was called upon to make that declaration, I did recollect with satisfaction and consolation that the day before I had sent a message of peace to Ireland. I deprecate war with earnestness; but if it should come, I pray that every pulse throughout the frame of the empire may be found beating in harmonious union, Ireland ranged firmly on our side. *I doubt whether, considering what is now transpiring, the vindication of the honour and interests of the country will not be committed to other hands;* but to whomsoever it may be committed, I shall take my place

beside them, encouraging them by every support I can give in a just and honourable cause.'

Though the second reading had been carried by the large majority of 147, the Bill was not yet out danger. On the order of the day being read for going into Committee an amendment was moved by Mr. Ward, the author of the celebrated Appropriation Clause, declaring it to be the opinion of the House that the additional grant to Maynooth should be taken from the funds already applicable to ecclesiastical purposes in Ireland. This motion gave rise to a very able and animated debate, in which nearly all the leading members on both sides of the House took part, and was noted for one of Mr. Macaulay's most brilliant speeches. It turned mainly on the condition of the Irish Church, with its highly-paid sinecures; its parishes without a single Protestant; its pluralists and absentee incumbents; and its total failure to extend the Protestant religion in Ireland. A number of the speakers in support of Mr. Ward's motion—notably Lord John Russell and Lord Howick—earnestly recommended that the funds now spent in supporting Protestant clergyman preaching to empty pews, should be devoted, as the interests of the Established Church fell in, to the maintenance of the Roman Catholic priests. Mr. Ward's amendment was rejected by a majority of 174 votes. Indeed, its advocates evidently did not wish it to be carried, being well aware that it would in that case have destroyed the Bill. Various other amendments were rejected by large majorities. The third reading was carried by 317 votes against 184. In the Upper House the Bill was opposed by the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Roden, who said the scheme was considered by the Protestants of Ireland as a heavy blow to their interests; by the Bishop of London, who considered it the first link that had been forged to tie together the State and the Roman Catholic Church; the Bishop of Exeter, the Duke of Manchester, the Earl of Winchelsea, and other noblemen and prelates of the same school. It was strenuously supported by Dr. Whately, Archbishop of Dublin; Dr. Stanley, Bishop of Norwich; Dr. Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's; Earl Spencer, Lord Monteagle, Lord Brougham, Lord Campbell, and other Liberal Peers, as well as by the Duke of Wellington, Lord Stanley, and other members of the Government. It was carried through all its stages by large majorities, and became law at the end of the session.

Another educational measure, brought forward at this time by the Government, gave even deeper offence to a portion of their supporters than the increased grant to Maynooth. The combined secular and separate religious system of elementary education established in Ireland was working well among the poorer classes, and it was now thought desirable to extend it to instruction in the higher branches of knowledge, and for the benefit of all classes of the community. Accordingly, in the royal speech at the opening of the session, Her Majesty recommended to the consideration of Parliament 'the policy of improving and extending the opportunities for academical education in Ireland.' The plan which the Ministry had prepared, in order to carry out this recommendation, was introduced by Sir James Graham on the 9th of May. They proposed to establish three colleges —one at Belfast, a second at Cork, and the third at Galway—upon the same principles as the universities in Scotland. Instruction was to be given only in secular branches, and there was consequently to be no theological faculty in any of them; but every facility was to be afforded for the voluntary establishment of theological professorships in connection with the colleges, though attendance at the lectures of this kind was not to be made compulsory. A medical school was to be established at Belfast and at Cork, and the various religious bodies were to have authority to appoint a warden to take charge of the morals of their students. In each college there was to be a

principal and ten or twelve professors, and no religious tests were to be exacted either from professors or students. The new colleges were to be incorporated into a new university, to be designated the 'Queen's University in Ireland.'

The scheme was at once denounced by the High Church Episcopalians and the violent Roman Catholics. Sir Robert Inglis, as the leader of the former party, declared it to be a 'gigantic scheme of godless education,' and O'Connell thanked the member for the University of Oxford for so appropriately designating the plan. Dr. M'Hale, and other Popish prelates and priests, united in denouncing the Bill in the most vehement terms, as 'a penal and revolting measure;' while others more moderate in their views and less unmeasured in their language, contented themselves with demanding that Roman Catholic professors alone should fill the chairs of history, logic, metaphysics, moral philosophy, geology, and anatomy, and that Roman Catholic chaplains, with suitable salaries, should reside within the walls of the colleges. The measure, however, received the cordial support of Lord John Russell and the Liberal party, and was carried through Parliament without any material alteration; but the incorporation of the colleges into a University did not take place till some time after, when a charter was granted by the Crown. It was earnestly urged by several members that the proper course to follow was to abolish all denominational restrictions on the fellowships in Trinity College, Dublin, and to throw open all the privileges connected with that institution to Roman Catholics as well as to Protestants; but unfortunately neither the Ministry nor the Parliament were then prepared to take such a step, and by the time that Trinity College was at length reformed and liberalized the Roman Catholic clergy had set their hearts on obtaining a University endowed by the State, but completely under their own control. The sum of £100,000 was voted by Parliament for the erection of the three colleges, and £18,000 per annum for their maintenance. The principal was to receive a salary of £1000 a year, and the professors salaries of £300 a year each; and these offices were fairly distributed among the different religious bodies in Ireland. The Episcopalians, and especially the Presbyterians, readily availed themselves of the instruction thus provided for the youth of their respective bodies, and so did a considerable number of the Roman Catholics belonging to the middle classes. But the Ultramontane party agitated against the colleges from the first, and at length by dint of gross and persistent misrepresentation, they succeeded in obtaining from Pope Pius IX. a rescript condemning these institutions as places of education for the Roman Catholics of Ireland. Repeated attempts subsequently made by successive Governments to alter the constitution of these colleges led to violent and mischievous agitation.

The steady progress of the Legislature in the path of justice and religious toleration, even under a Conservative Government, was marked by the passing of a Bill for the removal of certain Jewish disabilities, 'completely of a piece,' as one of the extreme Conservatives bitterly remarked, 'with several other measures which had passed the House during the last two Sessions.' As the law stood, a Jew might be a magistrate or sheriff for a county or for the City of London, but he was excluded from the offices of mayor, or alderman, or common councilman, by certain words which the House of Lords had thought fit to introduce into the Bill for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Act in 1828, requiring a declaration to be made 'upon the true faith of a Christian.' Five Jewish gentlemen were at this time magistrates, some of them for several counties; some were deputy-lieutenants; and all might be high-sheriffs. A Jew might be elected Sheriff of London—and, indeed, Mr. Salomons had held that office—and if he had refused to serve would have been subject

to a fine, but he was not allowed to hold the office of alderman. In some corporations, such as Birmingham, Portsmouth, and Southampton, the law was deliberately violated; but in other places, and especially in London itself, it was strictly enforced. The Lord Chancellor, early in the session of 1845, introduced a measure to abolish this anomaly, and it passed the House of Lords without opposition; although the Bishop of London and Lord Colchester were careful to intimate that their forbearance in regard to it would not preclude them from resisting every attempt to obtain admission of the Jews into Parliament. In the Lower House the Bill was of course opposed by the conscientious but narrow-minded representative of the University of Oxford, and by Mr. Plumptre, one of the members for Kent, who said 'he was convinced, if the House should pass this Bill, it would forfeit the favour of Almighty God, and draw down upon the country the displeasure of the Most High.' This terrible anathema, however, had so little effect upon the House that the amendment for the rejection of the Bill found only eleven supporters, and the measure in due course became law.

India was still in an unsettled state; for though after the recall of Lord Ellenborough the Government ceased to cherish ambitious and aggressive designs, the barbarous and warlike races on our north-western frontier were not inclined to remain at peace. After the death of Runjeet Singh, the 'Lion of Lahore,' the Punjaub fell into a state of disorder and anarchy. Murders and insurrections followed in rapid succession, and the army, in the absence of any permanent and firm ruler, became absolutely unmanageable. Some portion of the territory on the left bank of the Sutlej was under British protection, and the Indian Government had obtained possession of her advanced frontier past Loodianah and Ferozepore, in which they had stationed garrisons. The Governor-General was quite alive to the danger that threatened these parts in consequence of the unsettled state of affairs in the Punjaub; but he was under the impression that though the Sikh soldiers might give some molestation on the frontiers, they would not venture to invade the territories of the East India Company. He, therefore, while keeping his eye upon the Punjaub, devoted his energies mainly to giving encouragement to the erection of native schools, marking out highways, railroads, and a canal which should pass through the whole valley of the Ganges, and to other measures calculated to promote the general improvement of the country.

It is impossible, however, to calculate with any degree of certainty upon the course which will be followed by a barbarous people, and especially by a body of ignorant mutineers and savage soldiers receiving no pay and under no proper authority. Matters had been going from bad to worse at Lahore. There had arisen fresh factions, fresh strifes, and fresh atrocities, which ended in the setting up of Dhuleep Singh, a reputed son of Runjeet, a child of tender years, to whom his mother, the Ranee, undertook the office of guardian. Devoted to her own pleasures, she had neither the authority nor the inclination to restrain the excesses of the Sikhs. They plundered the country, elected delegates to preside over them, and surrounded the palace, and demanded the arrears of their pay. It was out of the Ranee's power to comply with this demand; but alarmed for her own life, and the lives of her lovers, Tigh Singh and Lal Singh, she consented to the alternative set before her by the soldiers, and gave her assent, about the middle of November, 1845, to their crossing the frontier and attacking the British territories.

Although no certain intelligence had as yet been received respecting the movement of the Sikhs, the British civil and military authorities were using the utmost diligence in collecting supplies of provisions and stores. Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-

in-Chief, who had been stationed at Umballa, began his march on the 11th of December towards Ferozepore, which was held by Major-General Sir John Littler, with 5000 men. On the 13th a despatch from the military agent at that place announced that eight battalions of Sikhs had crossed the river a little way above the town, and that the rest of the army was passing. On receiving this intelligence the British army, 14,000 strong, began a rapid march towards Ferozepore, which the invaders had meanwhile loosely invested on one side. On the 17th tidings reached the British forces that one section of the enemy's forces had taken up an intrenched position to watch that town, while another portion, said to be about 40,000 strong, was advancing to intercept the relieving army. Meanwhile our troops were pushing on in spite of fatigue, thirst, and terrible privations, with such speed that day by day they compassed, under the vertical sun of India, a march of six-and-twenty miles a day. Early on the 18th the pickets of our advanced guard fell in with parties of the Sikhs, which had been sent out to watch for their approach. A skirmish ensued, which ended in the retreat of the enemy to their main body, about four miles off. Our columns held on their march till they had passed the village of Moodkee, and proceeded to bivouac a little way in front of it.

Both men and horses were terribly jaded. They had found no water throughout the whole day's march, and many of them were without provisions, while others, though in this respect more favoured, had no convenience for cooking their food. They had rested only a short time when mounted patrols, galloping in, announced that the enemy were approaching. In an instant the troops were in their ranks. The Commander-in-Chief, putting himself at the head of the cavalry and artillery, moved forward, and Sir Henry Hardinge followed with the infantry in twelve battalions. They had not proceeded beyond two miles when they came upon the enemy, consisting of from 15,000 to 20,000 infantry, about the same force of cavalry, and forty guns.

The battle which ensued was severe and sanguinary. The field of action was a sandy plain, covered at intervals with a low and thick jungle, and broken by sandy hillocks. The enemy screened their infantry and artillery behind this jungle and these undulations, and opened a severe cannonade on our advancing troops. It was vigorously replied to by our artillery, which, though lighter than that of the Sikhs, in the end gained the mastery. Meanwhile one portion of our cavalry turned the enemy's left, chased the Sikh horsemen from the field, swept along the rear of their line, silenced their guns for a time, and rode through their battalions. Another portion of our cavalry at the same time threatened their right. The attack of the British infantry, led by Major-generals Harry Smith, Gilbert, and M'Caskill, then commenced, and in the words of the Commander-in-Chief, 'the roll of fire from this powerful arm soon convinced the Sikh army that they had met with a foe they had little expected.' After the battle had lasted about an hour, the British infantry were ordered to charge with the bayonet, and broke the enemy's ranks at every point, driving them from position to position; and night only saved them from much heavier losses than they encountered, though the slaughter must have been very great. Seventeen pieces of artillery, some of them of heavy calibre, fell into the hands of the victors. Unfortunately the loss in this encounter was on our part severe, amounting in killed and wounded to 872; but it was felt chiefly because in the list of the killed appeared the names of men who had done the country eminent service, like the veteran Sir Robert Sale (the hero of Jellalabad, one of the best soldiers this country ever produced), and Major-general M'Caskill, another eminent Afghan soldier of great experience and gallantry. The former had his left thigh

shattered by a grape shot, and the wound proved mortal; the latter was shot through the heart and immediately expired. There were young officers also, like Herries, Pollock, and Munro, of the highest promise and the most conspicuous bravery, who on this occasion shared with them a soldier's grave.

The Sikhs, though defeated, were not dispersed. They still vastly exceeded the British forces in the numbers both of men and of guns, and their confidence in their own valour was not abated. They even ventured to hover about the British camp on the day after their stoutly-fought battle, and our troops were repeatedly required to get under arms to repel their threatened attacks.

On the evening of the 19th two European regiments—the 29th and 1st Bengal Light Infantry—marched into the British lines. They had made almost incredible exertions to get forward to take part in the battle of Moodkee, but they fortunately arrived in time to compensate for the losses which the action of the previous day had occasioned. The Governor-General at this stage, in order to strengthen the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, offered to serve under him as second in command—a step which, though censured by some military martinets, was justified by the need of some efficient and experienced officer to supply the loss of Sale and M'Caskill, and showed that the Governor-General was possessed of an extraordinary share of generosity.

The Sikh forces that crossed the Sutlej amounted to 70,000 men. A portion of them, as we have seen, had taken up a position not far from Ferozepore, while the main body had intrenched themselves at the village of Ferozeshah, about ten miles in advance towards Moodkee, which they surrounded with a double circuit of works. It was a portion of the army from Ferozeshah that had fought the battle of Moodkee. The survivors of that bloody field had rejoined the main body, and contributed to strengthen their position.

It was not until the 21st that the British army was in a condition to move against the enemy. The movement was made in conjunction with General Littler, who was instructed to leave Ferozepore in good time, so as to form a junction with the advancing army at a particular spot pointed out by the Commander-in-Chief. So accurately were the calculations made, that the two detachments met with the most perfect punctuality at the place agreed on. The junction of the two bodies raised the British army to about 16,000 or 17,000 men. They advanced to storm the Sikh position—an irregular polygon—in two lines; the first composed of Littler's corps, Wallace's (late M'Caskill's), and Gilbert's, while Sir Henry Smith's division of infantry formed the second line. The cavalry, with the horse artillery, were on the flanks; the heavier guns were massed in the centre. The conflict was obstinately contested, and when night fell, and for a brief space separated the combatants, the result was still doubtful. The right wing, commanded by General Gough, after a desperate struggle and heavy losses, forced its way over the ramparts, and bivouacked for the night within the enemy's position. But the left wing, under Sir Henry Hardinge, was less fortunate, and after penetrating within the inner line of the enemy's works, was obliged to withdraw from them, and to pass the night outside. The night was spent by our troops, surrounded by the dead and the dying, suffering from cold, hunger, and thirst, within hearing of the cries and groans of their wounded comrades, amid exploding shells and mines, tumbrils, and ammunition carts. It was evident to all that there was no alternative on the morrow but victory or utter destruction. No one, however, bated a jot of heart or hope, and the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor-General went from corps to corps encouraging the men with the assurance of victory.

'The long night,' as General Gough terms it, at length wore away, and the contest was renewed as soon as there was light

enough to show the enemy. The fight was commenced by the artillery, but it soon appeared that the British were overmatched as regarded both the number and the weight of their guns. The Sikhs had upwards of 100 pieces, many of which were of battering calibre, and they speedily struck down our artillery; men and horses, and guns and ammunition carts, were rolled over, or blew up with a frightful explosion. There remained no resource but to charge with the bayonet, and though the cannon shot poured on them like hail, our infantry carried the inner works at a rush, entered the village, swept the whole of the enemy's position, and captured his artillery.*

Scarcely had this success been attained when the Sikh army of reserve appeared upon the scene. They had quitted, at an early hour in the morning, the intrenched camp which they occupied some miles above Ferozepore, and now the advanced guard, commanded by Tigh Singh, opened upon our troops a murderous fire of artillery. In a little they drew off; but it was only for the purpose of waiting the arrival of the reinforcements which were rapidly coming up, and by and by 30,000 men with cavalry and guns approached the British position. Matters looked very critical even to the indomitable Commander-in-Chief himself. 'The only time I felt a doubt,' he wrote, 'was towards the evening of the 22nd, when the fresh enemy advanced with heavy columns of infantry, cavalry, and guns, and our cavalry horses were so thoroughly done up that they could not command even a trot.' The artillery ammunition was completely expended, so that our troops were unable to answer with a single shot. At this critical moment the Commander-in-Chief directed our almost exhausted cavalry to threaten both flanks of the enemy at once, and prepared the infantry to support the movement. A panic seized the Sikhs, and they abandoned their guns. Our infantry, giving them no time to recover, advanced with a cheer and captured the pieces, which were instantly spiked. The enemy, fancying that our cavalry were about to seize the fords and cut them off from their own side of the Sutlej, fled with all possible speed, and never halted till they had put the river between them and the Feringees.

The night was passed in anxiety and watchfulness, and as no supply of provisions had come up the sufferings of all ranks were severe. Fortunately the Sikhs made no immediate attempt to renew the contest, which had cost the vanquished 2000 men, and the victors the loss of 694 killed and 1721 wounded. Among the former were a number of officers of distinguished reputation, including Major Broadford, of whom Sir Henry Hardinge said, 'he was brave as he was able in every branch of the political and military service,' Colonel Wallace, Colonel Taylor, and Major Fitzroy Somerset, military secretary to the Governor-General, 'the brave son of a brave and most distinguished father.' Next day Sir Henry issued an order to the army, in which, after paying the tribute that was due to the heroism of the troops, he invited the survivors of the fight to assemble near the Governor-General's tent 'to unite in returning thanks to the Lord of Hosts for the success with which he had crowned their efforts.'

The Sikh army, though twice defeated and considerably reduced in numbers, were still determined to renew the contest.

* An incident which occurred at this crisis places in a striking light the heroic character of the Commander-in-Chief. 'Seeing a part of his line reel and stagger under the fire, he bethought him that if he could divert even a portion of the cannonade for a few moments to another point, the crisis of the battle would be passed. He forthwith rode forward, attended by a single aide-de-camp, and making himself prominently conspicuous to the Sikhs' gunners, moved slowly to one side, as if for the purpose of reconnoitring their intrenchments close at hand. In an instant almost every gun in the battery was turned upon him. The shot ploughed up the dust about him so as well-nigh to hide both him and his horse from the enemy's view; yet not one took effect, and so complete was the diversion that the line of infantry felt as if relieved, and with a shout sprang forward. The next instant saw the redoubt with all the artillery which it contained in their possession.'

Leaving Ferozepore open, they took up a position on the Sutlej near Sabraon, which did great credit to the military skill of their European advisers. They formed an intrenched camp, protected on both flanks by a bend of the Sutlej—a deep and broad river—and covered in front with batteries, redoubts, and strong breastworks. They constructed a bridge of boats with a good ford beside it, by which they could cross to their own side of the river; and on the high ground there they placed their heaviest cannon in battery, which completely commanded their intrenched camp if it should fall into the hands of the British.

In the exhausted state of his army, Sir Hugh Gough was compelled to wait for reinforcements of men, horses, cannon, and ammunition, which came up in small detachments; and meanwhile he contented himself with watching the course of the river from Rooper down to Mendote, a line of about twenty-four miles in extent. By the end of January, 1846, he had succeeded in collecting a force of about 30,000 men of all arms, divided into thirty-one battalions of infantry and nine regiments of cavalry, with 100 pieces of artillery. Finding that the British general did not move, the Sikhs took heart and resolved to attack Loodianah, which was held by Brigadier Godby with one regiment of native infantry, a battalion of Ghoorkhas, and a battery of guns. Accordingly, a large force of all arms, under Runjeet Singh, crossed the Sutlej and marched upon that important post. The Commander-in-Chief, on receiving notice of this movement, immediately despatched a brigade under Sir Harry Smith to counteract the operations of the enemy, which, if successful, would have interrupted the whole line of the British communications, and have done great mischief to the strategy of the campaign. General Smith performed the service intrusted to him with remarkable skill and intrepidity. He first of all outmanœuvred the Sikh forces, and then encountering them at Aliwal inflicted on them a signal defeat, which completely baffled their designs, and effectually secured the communications of our army.

Nothing now remained to finish the campaign, which had been thus far successful, but to dislodge the enemy from his position at Sabraon, an enterprise of great difficulty and danger. Several plans for that purpose were proposed and discussed, and it was at last resolved to adopt the first and most obvious, and to storm the intrenched camp. The enterprise was very difficult, for the enemy's works were constructed with great care and skill; and the country in front of them being everywhere flat and open, all the approaches to the outer face of the camp had to be made under a tremendous fire of artillery, in the number and weight of which we were still surpassed by the enemy. Preparations for this struggle, on which the fate of the Sikh empire depended, were made with the utmost care. Sir Harry Smith and his brigade were called in from Aliwal; and taking advantage of a fall of rain which had swelled the ford and left the Sikhs only the bridge by which they could cross the river, Sir H. Gough attacked the camp on the 10th of February. A vertical and enfilading cannonade first of all had the effect of shaking the enemy in his lines, and then the infantry charged with the bayonet. The struggle was long and severe. The Sikhs fought with desperate courage; but in spite of their discipline, their great superiority of numbers, and their well-served artillery, they were at last totally defeated, and driven out of their camp. The British lost 320 killed, including General M'Laren, Major-general Dick, and Brigadier Taylor, and 2063 wounded; but the slaughter of the Sikhs was sickening to hear of, and great numbers were drowned in attempting to make their escape by the river into their own territory. At least 5000 lost their lives, and all their guns and baggage were taken.

The British lost no time in following up this signal victory. They at once entered the Punjaub, and began their march to Lahore. On the 9th of March, 1846, a

treaty was concluded between Dhuleep Singh and the Governor-General, by which the Maharajah renounced all claim to the territory south of the Sutlej; ceded the Doab between the Beas and the Sutlej, and the hilly country between the Beas and the Indus, including Cashmere and Hazara; paid 5,000,000 rupees; disbanded the greater part of his forces; consented to the severance from his territory of a new principality to Gholab Singh, the head of the British party at the court of Lahore; and agreed to other terms which placed the Punjaub under the control of the Indian Government. The treaty in the meantime added largely to the security and resources of our Indian empire, but it was not of long duration.

The state of public feeling between Great Britain and the United States had for some time been the reverse of satisfactory. Disputes about the *Caroline* steamboat by some Canadian loyalists; the arrest of Mr. M'Leod, a British subject, while engaged in transacting business in New York, on the charge, utterly unfounded, that he had been concerned in the destruction of the *Caroline;* the right of search question; and the refusal of the British authorities at Nassau, in New Providence, to detain the slaves who had obtained possession of the *Creole*, and carried her to that island—had led to complications which at one time threatened to embroil the two countries in war. A number of the States, notably the State of Pennsylvania, had borrowed large sums of money from Englishmen and Scotchmen for the purpose of constructing canals, railroads, and other public works, and had repudiated their debts in the most shameless manner. This proceeding, of course, gave rise to a good deal of angry feeling in Britain, and was exposed by Sydney Smith in his petition to Congress and Letters on American debts. The pungent wit of these celebrated papers was keenly felt by the thin-skinned Americans, while the solvent States and the men of honour and honesty in every part of the country writhed under the witty canon's indignant exposure of this 'act of bad faith,' 'this gigantic bankruptcy,' the 'total want of shame with which these things had been done, the callous immorality with which Europe had been plundered, and that deadness of the moral sense which seemed to preclude all return to honesty, and to perpetuate this new infamy.'* The unprincipled annexation of Texas, followed by the invasion of Mexico, purely for the extension of slavery, was strongly condemned by our people, much to the anger and disgust of the slaveholders and their political partizans.

While such was the state of feeling in the two countries questions of considerable difficulty had to be settled by their respective Governments. The boundary between the State of Maine and Canada had long been matter of dispute between the British and the Americans; and in the existing temper of the two nations it was not improbable that skirmishes along the frontiers might involve them in all the horrors of war. The line claimed by each had been carefully examined by Commissioners sent out by Lord Palmerston in 1839, and their report was adverse to the American claim. The question was then referred to the arbitration of the King of the Netherlands; but his award did not give satisfaction to either party, and was in consequence set aside. In this state of affairs Sir Robert Peel, in February, 1842, sent out Lord Ashburton (Mr. Baring), who had important commercial relations with America, as a special ambassador to Washington with full powers to settle this question. By his exertions the matter was amicably arranged, and a treaty which settled the boundary question was signed on the 9th of August following.

* Mr. Webster, much to his credit, and to the risk of his popularity, indignantly denounced the repudiating States. 'If I belonged to a deeply indebted State,' he said, 'I'd work these five fingers to the stumps; I'd hold a plough, I'd drive a plough; I'd do both before it should be said of the State to which I belonged that she did not pay her debts. If it costs us our comforts, let us sacrifice our comforts; if it costs us our farms, let us mortgage our farms. But don't let it be said by the proud capitalists of England "You don't pay your debts." Until this is done, you and I cannot feel as if we could draw a free breath.'

Complaints were made at the time by certain parties in England that undue concessions had been made to the United States, while on the other hand American politicians of the extreme school were equally dissatisfied with the arrangements, which they alleged were too favourable to Britain. But the great majority of the people of both countries were delighted at the settlement of a question which had long stood in the way of international concord.

There still, however, remained another obstacle to the establishment of peace and permanent amity—the dispute regarding the Oregon territory situated in North America beyond the Rocky Mountains. The matter was one of very great importance, for the disputed territory embraced both the Columbia (the largest river that flows into the Pacific), and Vancouver's Island, 278 miles long by sixty broad, possessing a fertile soil, with a mild climate, and abounding in coal of an excellent quality. The territory in dispute was regarded as of comparatively little importance at the time when it seemed quite out of the reach of immigrants, and there could scarcely be any communication between them and the mother country. But after we had obtained settlements in China within eighteen days' sail of the mouth of the Columbia, and our steam navigation had been extended into the Pacific, this remote region, furnishing as it did an excellent harbour and abundance of coal, became of very great value. The United States claimed a boundary which should give them both the Columbia river and Vancouver's Island, and would thus have put into their hands the complete command of the navigation. The British Commissioners, of course, refused to comply with this demand, and in 1818 the Governments agreed to leave the territory open to joint occupation for ten years—an arrangement which was certain to render a further settlement more difficult. When the end of the specified time drew near Mr. Rush the American Minister, and Mr. Canning, made an effort to bring about a settlement, but without success. The United States Government had meanwhile sent a frigate to explore the Columbia, and to establish a port at its mouth on what Congress declared to be 'within the acknowledged limits' of the American territory. Mr. Rush proposed a boundary which would have left the Columbia river to the United States and Vancouver's Island to Britain; but Mr. Canning refused to accept this offer, and the scheme which he proposed on the other hand was not acceptable to the American Minister. So keen grew the contention, that Lord Castlereagh, told Mr. Rush war could be produced by holding up a finger.

It was at last agreed that the period of joint occupancy should be indefinitely extended—the territory, with all its bays, harbours, creeks, and rivers being free and open to the subjects of both Powers. In 1843 several violent speeches on this question were made in Congress, and resolutions quite as violent and injudicious were adopted. A Bill was even brought into Congress for the occupation and military organization of the Oregon territory, and was carried through the Senate, but was ultimately abandoned. President Polk, in his inaugural address, announced that he was about to engage in negotiations with the British Government for a final settlement of the claims of the two countries, and he thought fit to add, 'Our title to the country of Oregon is clear and unquestionable, and already are our people preparing to perfect their title by occupying it with their wives and children.' These and other similar assertions were fitted to rouse angry feelings in the minds of British statesmen of all parties, who were strongly of opinion that the claims of the United States Government were unfounded, and that the Oregon territory belonged to Britain both by right of discovery and by right of treaty. Sir Robert Peel, amid the enthusiastic applause of the House of Commons, concluded a temperate

but firm speech on the subject by saying, 'We have a right to this territory of Oregon which is clear and unquestionable; we desire an amicable adjustment of the differences between ourselves and the United States; but if, after having exhausted every effort to obtain it our rights are invaded, we are resolved and prepared to defend them.'

The firm attitude thus assumed by our Government, supported by the leaders of the Opposition in both Houses of Parliament, exercised a salutary influence on the American President and his advisers. The leading politicians in the Congress were loud in their denunciations of the ambition of Great Britain; and the Irish residents and their representatives were, as usual, clamorous for war. But wiser counsels prevailed. The moderate and really patriotic American citizens made their voices heard at this crisis, and the shocking calamity and wickedness of a war between two nations of common kindred were averted. Lord Aberdeen offered, as a compromise, that the dividing line should be 'the forty-ninth degree of latitude from the Rocky Mountains west to the middle of the Channel separating Vancouver's Island from the mainland; thence southerly through the middle of the Channel and of Fuca's Straits to the Pacific.' His offer was accepted, and the Oregon Treaty, concluded on 15th June, 1846, at length settled this troublesome and dangerous question, and secured to Great Britain Vancouver's Island and the free navigation of the Columbia river. The judicious and fortunate settlement of this dispute was one of the last and most praiseworthy acts of Sir Robert Peel's Government, which a strange combination of events and of parties now brought to a close. To understand how this unexpected result was brought about, it will be necessary to give a sketch of their financial policy, and in what circumstances it was finally carried fully into effect.

END OF VOL. II.

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THE AGE WE LIVE IN.

CHAPTER I.

Free Trade and the League—The Corn Laws of 1815 and 1822—Opposition to them in 1833—First Anti-Corn-Law Association—Motions of Mr. Villiers—Anti-Corn-Law Association formed in Manchester—Mr. Frederick Bastiat—Operations of the League—The Central Agricultural Society—Motion of Mr. Hume—Election of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright—Their Respective Characters—Change of Ministry—Opinions of Sir Robert Peel—Activity of the League—Conferences of Clergymen—The *Struggle*—The Organs of the Protectionists—Measures of the Government—Resignation of the Duke of Buckingham—The new Sliding Scale—The Tariff Bill—Distress of the Working Classes—The Income Tax Bill—Behaviour of the Chartists—Progress of the League Agitation—Deputations to the Agricultural Districts—The £100,000 League Fund—The Forty Shilling Franchise—The Potato Disease in Ireland—Lord John Russell's Letter—State of Opinion in the Cabinet—Resignation of the Ministry—Inability of Lord John Russell to form a Government—Return of Peel to Office—Proceedings in Parliament—The Corn Bill carried through Parliament—The Coercion Bill—Defeat of the Ministry—Their Resignation—Sir Robert Peel's final Address—Dissolution of the League.

At the close of the protracted Continental war in 1815, when the European ports were opened to our commerce, a Corn Law was hurried through Parliament, prohibiting the importation of foreign grain until the price of wheat had risen to eighty shillings a quarter. In 1822 this law was so far modified that importation was permitted when the price of wheat was seventy shillings a quarter. Five years later, Canning, who was then Prime Minister, introduced a new Corn Bill on the principle of a sliding scale, making the duty rise as the price of grain fell in the home market. For every rise of a shilling in the home price the duty was to go down two shillings; for every fall of a shilling in the home price the duty was to go up two shillings. When the Bill reached the House of Lords an amendment was introduced into it by the Duke of Wellington, which caused the Ministry to withdraw the measure. After the death of Canning, and the downfall of the short-lived administration of Lord Goderich, the Duke came into office and introduced a new Corn Law Bill, based on the principle of Canning's measure, but carried much further. Canning proposed that when the price of wheat in the home market reached sixty shillings a quarter, wheat was to pay a duty of twenty shillings. But the Duke proposed that when the price in the home market was sixty-four shillings the duty should be twenty-three shillings and eightpence. The amount of duty did not vary at an equal rate, as in Canning's Bill, but rose by leaps, the precise reason for which was not very perceptible. The principle on which all these restrictions were based was the supposed right of the landlords or growers of corn to obtain what they regarded as a fair return for the produce of their estates at the expense of the people; so that when the harvest was abundant, and corn was cheap, a heavy duty was immediately exacted, in order that a remunerative price might be obtained by the growers at the expense of the consumers.

The first attack on the Corn Law in the

new House of Commons was made on the 17th of May, 1833, by Mr. Whitmore, who proposed a motion to the effect that instead of producing equality of prices, and thereby a permanent good, the law had produced a contrary effect, and tended injuriously to restrict trade. The motion was, of course, easily set aside. The landed interest was banded together as one man to oppose free trade in corn, while the manufacturing communities were not at that time uttering a word of complaint against the monopoly of the landlords. It was impossible to contend successfully with the one interest without the aid of the other. On the 6th of March, 1834, Mr. Hume moved for a committee with the view of substituting a fixed duty on corn for the sliding scale. Sir James Graham declared his firm conviction, that such a scheme would be the destruction not of one particular class in the State, but of the State itself. Mr. Feargus O'Connor, the notorious Chartist leader, said that to admit duty corn free would be the ruin of Ireland, and almost all the Irish members voted against the motion. On the other hand, Mr. Poulett Thomson, the Vice-president of the Board of Trade, warned the House that it would be wise to legislate then, when they could do so with calmness and deliberation, and not to delay till a time of scarcity and disturbance. Lord Morpeth and Lord Howick supported the motion, but it was rejected by a majority of 313 against 155. It was evident that even in a reformed Parliament the landlord interest was paramount.

A succession of good harvests, and the consequent cheapness of bread, contented the operatives, but 'distressed' the agriculturists, who had confidently expected that their law of 1815 would keep up the price of wheat to eighty shillings, while it had now fallen to thirty-six shillings a quarter. But after the harvest of 1836 a considerable rise in the price of corn, and a pressure upon the money market, indicated approaching adversity, and towards the end of the year an Anti-Corn-Law Association was formed in London. Its committee comprised Grote, Molesworth, Joseph Hume, Roebuck, Colonel Thompson, and other well-known Radicals; but though they were men of eminent ability, they did not, as Lord Sydenham remarked, possess the power 'to elevate the subject, and excite the feelings of the people;' and, besides, as it has often been noticed, London, from various causes, is not the proper place for originating and carrying out any popular agitation. The formation of this Association, therefore, had no influence on the opinions or votes of the House of Commons; and a motion made by Mr. Clay, for the adoption of a fixed duty of ten shillings, received the support of only 89 members against 223.

In the new Parliament elected on the accession of Queen Victoria, the free trade cause fared little better. The leader of the party at this time was Mr. Charles P. Villiers, brother of the Earl of Clarendon, an able, moderate, judicious, and upright politician, who for several successive sessions brought forward a motion for the total repeal of the restrictions on the import of corn. A proposal made by him at this time for inquiry into the operation of the Corn Law obtained only ninety-seven supporters; and even a Bill to permit the grinding of wheat in bond for foreign export was peremptorily rejected by 220 votes against 150. Mr. Villiers warned the Protectionists, who had closed their eyes in a moral blindness that they could not discern the signs of the times, that the rejection of this measure 'would be like that preliminary folly which characterizes those whom Heaven has marked as its victims, that it would rouse that feeling which had been dormant too long on the subject of the Corn Laws; and that those who wanted to gain partizans in favour of the repeal of these laws, could desire nothing better suited to their purpose than the irrational opposition offered by the landed interest to this measure, which was in fact the East Retford of the Corn Laws.' Mr.

Villiers' prognostication was received with shouts of laughter, but in no long time it was fulfilled to the letter.

In August, 1838, the price of wheat had risen to 77*s.* a quarter, and there was every probability that it would rise still higher. The continued wet weather rendered it almost certain that the harvest would be unfavourable. The revenue was declining, and pauperism was increasing. The manufacturing population of Lancashire were suffering great privations, owing to the state of trade. In the town of Bolton-le-Moors more than one-half of the manufacturing establishments which it contained were closed, nearly a fourth of all the houses of business were in the same condition, and more than 5000 workmen were without the means of subsistence. The most obvious remedy for their distress was cheap bread, but this boon could not be obtained in consequence of the operation of the Corn Laws. It was high time to be up and stirring; and at this critical moment —in the month of October—seven men met at a hotel in Manchester, and formed a new Anti-Corn-Law Association. The list of the provisional committee contained the names of Richard Cobden, John Bright, and others, who took a prominent part in the agitation for the abolition of all restrictions on trade and commerce. As Mr. Archibald Prentice, editor of the *Manchester Times*, and one of the earliest and most zealous commercial reformers, remarked, there needed but a spark to ignite the mass of smouldering discontent, and the spark was supplied by this infant association. Its influence was immediately felt in the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. The president, Mr. G. W. Wood, member for Kendal, and a number of the older men, directors of the Chamber, were inclined to rest satisfied with some modification of the existing duty; but Mr. J. B. Smith, afterwards President of the League, expressed himself as opposed to all protective duties, and Cobden, in a short but powerful speech, pointed out that the Corn Law was the only obstacle to a vast increase of their trade, and that every shilling of protection on corn passed into the pockets of the landowners without benefiting either the farmer or the agricultural labourer.

The meeting was adjourned for a week, and when the members again assembled, the faltering petition of the president was set aside, to his great chagrin, and a petition which had been prepared by Cobden was adopted in its stead by an almost unanimous vote. The preamble called attention to the rapid extension of foreign manufactures, the diminution of the trade of Britain with the Continent, and the successful competition of continental with British manufacturers in neutral foreign markets—all owing to impolitic and unjust legislation which, by preventing the British manufacturer from exchanging the produce of his labour for the corn of other countries, enabled his foreign rivals to purchase their food at one-half the price at which it was sold in the home market. The prayer of the petition called for the repeal of all laws relating to the importation of foreign corn and all foreign articles of subsistence, and implored the House to carry out to the fullest extent, both as affects manufactures and agriculture, the true and peaceful principles of free trade.

The anti-corn-law agitation having thus been fairly launched, its agitators showed their determination to carry it on with vigour and resolution by at once raising upwards of £6000 to make the movement effective. 'Let us,' said Cobden, 'invest a part of our property, in order to save the rest from confiscation.' 'Certainly,' said Mr. Frederick Bastiat, 'there needed more than ordinary courage to face such an enterprise. The adversaries to be combated were in possession of riches, influence, the legislature, the church, the state, the public treasure, the soil, places, and monopolies, and they were walled around by traditional deference and veneration. But the aspect of these difficulties did not frighten the founders of the League. After having

looked them in the face, and measured their strength, they believed they had strength to conquer them.' The preparations which they made for the struggle showed that the free-traders were quite well aware of the formidable nature of the opposition they would have to encounter, and the great sacrifice of time, money, and labour they would require to make, in order to free the commerce of the country from the restrictions which hampered and threatened to destroy it. 'They set to work with a zeal, a knowledge, a pertinacity, and spirit of self-sacrifice, probably unequalled in the spirit of peaceful agitation.' At the outset they were disposed to dwell mainly on what may be called the commercial aspect of the question—the injury which the protective system inflicted on trade and commerce, limiting the supply of food required by our constantly-increasing population; restricting our commercial intercourse with other nations, who could not buy our manufactures so long as we refused to take in return their corn; and fostering the rivalry of America, Germany, and other foreign competitors, by refusing to accept their surplus food as payment for our own manufactures, thus forcing them to erect manufacturing establishments on their own territory, which not only supplied their own people, but competed with us in the open markets of the world. 'I am afraid,' said Cobden, 'that most of us entered upon this struggle with the belief that we had some distinct class-interest in the question, and that we should carry it by a manifestation of our will in this district against the will and consent of other portions of the community.' But as the contest went on the views of the free-trade champions no doubt became more expanded and comprehensive, and the interest, moral as well as physical, of the whole community was shown to be involved in the struggle for justice to all classes—agricultural and manufacturing alike.

The executive committee of the Anti-Corn-Law Association, in taking all legal and constitutional means, such as the formation of local associations, the delivery of lectures, the distribution of tracts, and the presentation of petitions to Parliament to obtain the total and immediate repeal of the corn and provision laws, were told by a nobleman who was in favour of the modification of these laws, that they would overturn the monarchy as soon as accomplish the object they had in view. But Cobden and his associates had unbounded confidence in the ultimate triumph of truth and justice, and they set to work with a stout heart and a resolute will. A meeting of delegates from the various associations throughout the kingdom was held in Manchester in January, 1839, at which the rules of the Central Association were sanctioned, and arrangements made for rousing the whole country. In the beginning of February the scene of action was transferred to London, and the delegates proceeded to Westminster to wait upon Lord Melbourne, to lay before him the state of the country, and to co-operate with their friends in Parliament in pressing their views upon the House of Commons. On the 18th of February Mr. Villiers moved that a number of petitions against the Corn Laws should be referred to a committee of the whole House. The motion was negatived without a division. Next day, in a speech of singular force and clearness, he moved that the chairman and certain other members of the association should be heard at the bar, in support of the allegations of the petition which they had presented three days before. The motion was rejected by 361 votes to 172. Three of the Cabinet Ministers—Lord Morpeth, Sir J. C. Hobhouse, and Mr. Poulett Thomson—voted in favour of the motion; and Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and T. Spring Rice against it.

The delegates were not dispirited by this repulse. Mr. Cobden said there was no cause for desponding, because the House over the way refused to hear them. They were the representatives of three millions of the people; they were the evidence that

the great towns had banded themselves together, and their alliance would be a Hanseatic League against the feudal Corn-Law plunderers. The castles which crowned the rocks along the Rhone, the Danube, and the Elbe, had once been the strongholds of feudal oppressors. But they had been dismantled by a league, and they now only adorned the landscape as picturesque memorials of the past, while the people below had lost all fear of plunder, and tilled their vineyards in peace; and the new league would certainly not fail in dismantling the legislative stronghold of the new feudal oppressors in England. The delegates left town to meet in Manchester with a renewed determination to carry on the contest more resolutely than ever. Some of the monopolists tried to keep up their courage by alleging that the vote of the House of Commons had put the question to rest; but they were warned that the departure of the delegates was like the breaking up of a Mahratta camp—the war was not over, but only the mode of attack was about to be changed.

The delegates had offered to 'instruct' the House of Commons, but the House had refused to be instructed; and in order that these representatives might be instructed willingly or unwillingly, it was resolved to begin by instructing the nation. With that view the local societies scattered over the country were formed into a permanent union, bearing the designation of the Anti-Corn-Law League. With a view to secure unity of action the central office of the League was established in Manchester. In order to carry out their resolution to diffuse among the people a knowledge of the principles of free trade, means were taken to obtain the co-operation of the public press. Lecturers were engaged, and sent out into the provinces, and a stamped circular and a large number of handbills and placards were scattered broadcast over the country. Short, pithy tracts, such as 'Facts for Farmers,' were published in tens of thousands; and the *Anti-Corn-Law Circular*, in a few weeks, reached a circulation of 15,000.

The supporters of the Corn Laws now became alarmed at the impression which the free-trade advocates were producing on the country, and an association termed 'The Central Agricultural Society of Great Britain and Ireland' was formed in London, presided over by the Earl of Tankerville, for the purpose of counteracting the efforts of the League. This mode of upholding the cause of protection was legitimate and fair; but some, at least, of the agricultural party were not ashamed to have recourse to weapons of a very different kind. A band of dirty and noisy vagabonds, of the lowest class, intruded into a meeting of the association in Manchester; threw chairs at the heads of the gentlemen on the platform, some of whom were severely hurt; smashed the forms and the glasses of the lamps; and turned the meeting into a scene of riot and confusion. When conduct of this kind took place in Manchester it need not excite surprise that much worse treatment was, in not a few instances, given by the hangers-on of the landlords to the lecturers who ventured into the districts which were the strongholds of ignorance and prejudice. It was not unusual for the local authorities in petty agricultural boroughs to refuse the use of the town hall, and for the landlord of an inn to decline to give the use of a room, and sometimes even to refuse to allow the lecturer to spend the night in his house, for fear of giving offence to his bucolic customers. At Newark and at Retford, where the arbitrary Duke of Newcastle was all-powerful, there was not an innkeeper who could venture to let a room to the lecturer; and at Worksop, in the 'Dukery,' not only could the lecturer not obtain a room or find a printer who durst print a placard for him, but he was assaulted by hired bullies in the street. At Louth, where at their first meeting the lecturers were so unlucky as to discomfit a local magnate in the discussion which followed,

they were deprived on the succeeding night of the use of the town hall, and had to deliver their addresses from a gig in the market-place. They were in consequence served with a summons for causing a disturbance in a thoroughfare, and were fined by the very person whom they had routed in argument. At Huntingdon—the last place in England where a witch was burned—an outrageous disturbance took place, led by the town clerk, which compelled the lecturer to leave the place. At Cambridge Mr. Sidney Smith and Mr. Shearman, lecturers of the League, were interrupted by a band of the students, who, with the sound of trumpets and other discordant noises, prevented the lecturers from being heard. This uproarious conduct roused the anger of the townsmen. A fierce battle ensued between 'Gown' and 'Town;' considerable damage was done to the furniture of the building, and the police had a good deal of difficulty in suppressing the riot. The *Cambridge Chronicle*—the local Tory organ—after congratulating the riotous undergraduates on having done their duty as 'the friends of good government and the upholders of the religious constitution of the country,' went on to say, 'If the paid hirelings of a disloyal faction are to persist in inflaming the public mind with sentiments destructive of all moral right and order, we cannot call too strongly at the present crisis upon the well-disposed portion of the community to assist the authorities in putting down those revolutionary emissaries.'

The expression of such discreditable sentiments as these was not confined to provincial newspapers; some even of the metropolitan journals went beyond them in the virulence of their abuse. The *Standard*, which was regarded as a highly respectable paper, affirmed that the 'present cry against the Corn Laws is at bottom the work of a few commercial swindlers, though aided, no doubt, by the exertions of political swindlers.' The *Morning Herald* declared that many of the League were 'unprincipled schemers,' and 'the few members who may claim credit for honesty of purpose are at best conceited Socialists;' while their lecturers are 'empty-conceited blockheads.' The courtly *Morning Post*, re-echoing the sentiments of not a few of its aristocratic supporters, thus descanted with mingled insolence and folly on the arguments of the free traders:—'The manufacturing people exclaim, "Why should we not be permitted to exchange the produce of our industry for the greatest quantity of food which that industry will everywhere command?" To which we answer, Why not, indeed? Who hinders you? Take your manufactures away with you by all means, and exchange them anywhere you will, from Tobolsk to Timbuctoo; but do not insist on bringing your foreign corn here untaxed, to the ruin of your countrymen engaged in the production of corn. If nothing will serve you but to eat foreign corn, away with you, you and your goods, and let us see you no more. You are welcome to starve if you will; but remember if you do that, "live and let live" is a fair and honest and English mode of proceeding.'

It is a striking and instructive fact that in certain districts where the lower classes were sunk in ignorance and immorality, the mob were incited to break up the meetings of the Free Traders, by being told that the movement was simply a cunning and dishonest device of the manufacturers to lower the wages of the operatives. It is noteworthy that in Scotland the monopolists did not venture to resort to any of these discreditable modes of buttressing up the Corn Laws, and that the lecturers received an attentive hearing from all classes of the community. The opposition of the Chartists was all the more discreditable, that at this time the deplorable condition of the agricultural labourers had been made widely known by means of the publications of the League. In Devonshire the wages of the labourers averaged from seven to nine shillings a week; they rarely tasted meat

or even milk, and their chief food was a mixture of ground barley and potatoes. In the adjoining county of Somerset a labourer, after paying four shillings for half a bushel of wheat, sixpence for grinding, baking, and barm, sixpence for firing, and eighteenpence for rent, had only a balance of sixpence left out of his total earnings of seven shillings a week to provide for his wife and children potatoes, clothing, and all other necessaries of human life. These facts present a startling commentary on a speech which was delivered at this time in the House of Commons by Sir James Graham, in which he descanted on the position of the agricultural labourer, with his neat thatched cottage, blooming garden, and cheerful village green, summoned to his work by the breezy call of incense-breathing morn, and declared that the repeal of the Corn Laws would lead to a great migration from such delightful scenes to the noisy alley and 'the sad sound of the factory bell'—a change 'far more cruel, far more heartrending,' than 'the cruelties of the conveyance of the Poles to the wintry wastes of Siberia,' or 'the transportation of the Hill coolies from Coromandel to the Mauritius.' But deplorable as was the condition of the English agricultural labourer, the state of the Irish was incomparably worse. Potatoes had risen to such a price that the poor were unable to purchase them, and were actually starving. In Limerick and various other places the populace, prompted by the cravings of hunger, broke open the flour and provision shops, and the grocers' stores, and divided the contents among them. In some places the military had to be called out to disperse the crowd. 'Repeal the Union' was the cry of the local journalists. 'Repeal the Corn Laws' was the rejoinder of the Free Traders.

An important step was taken in May, 1840, when, on the motion of Mr. Hume, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the several duties levied upon imports into the United Kingdom, and how far those duties are for protection to similar articles the produce of this country or of the British possessions, or whether the duties are for revenue alone. The evidence given before this Committee by the official witnesses—Secretaries of the Board of Trade—threw a flood of light on the 'commercial obstruction, the fiscal exhaustion and embarrassment, the national waste, impoverishment, and suffering inflicted by the various monopolies,' which were petted and pampered by the restrictive system of legislation. The report of the Import Duties Committee formed a peculiarly interesting epoch in the history of the free-trade question. It set in the boldest relief the broad difference, or rather contrariety, between two classes of taxation as opposite in their nature as light and darkness, which had been jumbled together in our tariff—taxes for revenue and taxes for protection. 'It showed that the British Custom-house, though nominally one establishment, performed in fact two functions that are not only distinct, but contradictory—levying money directly and openly for the public service of the State, and levying money indirectly, to the detriment of the State, for the private pockets of certain favoured classes; that the indirect taxation far exceeded in amount the whole sum of the public taxation of the country; that the incidental effect of these private taxes in diverting capital and industry from their natural channels, limiting trade, relaxing the demand for labour and abridging its remuneration, was beyond measure more mischievous than their pressure as a pecuniary impost. And, moreover, that the classes for whose supposed benefit these taxes are levied are, on the whole and in the long run, nothing the better but very much the worse for the oppression and impoverishment of the rest of the community.' The report of the Committee, which was 'first unheeded, then ridiculed, and then angrily denounced,' might have shown Lord Melbourne's Cabinet the true principles on which the financial policy of

the country should be based; but Spring Rice and his successor at the Exchequer had not sufficient grasp or courage to adopt the principles of Lord Althorp's budget, and to give relief to the working classes by reducing the taxes which most interfere with manufacturing industry, even though the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as Peel remarked, was 'seated on an empty chest, by the side of bottomless deficiencies, fishing for a budget.'

The question which the Cabinet had to decide at this time, as Lord John Russell said, was 'whether they would lower duties of a protective character on a great number of small articles, or whether they would attack the giant monopolies of sugar, of timber, and of corn.' They adopted the latter course, as we have seen; but while they went so far as to alarm and rouse the indignation of the monopolists, they did not go far enough to excite the enthusiasm and secure the hearty support of the Free Traders and the commercial and manufacturing classes of the community. They in consequence met with a signal defeat, and were replaced by a powerful Ministry, pledged to the support of the Corn Laws and protective duties on trade.

The ranks of the Free Traders in the House of Commons received at this time an accession of vast importance in the person of Mr. Cobden, who was elected member for Stockport; and in the autumn of the same year (1841) Mr. John Bright, a young manufacturer of Rochdale, became Cobden's chief colleague in the struggle against all restrictions on agriculture, trade, and commerce. The interesting account given by Mr. Bright of his first meeting with Mr. Cobden has been repeatedly quoted, but it will bear any amount of repetition. 'The first time I became acquainted with Mr. Cobden,' he said, 'was in connection with the great question of education. I went over to Manchester to call upon him and invite him to come to Rochdale to speak to a meeting about to be held in the school room of the Baptist Chapel in West Street. I found him in his country house. I told him what I wanted; his countenance lighted up with pleasure to find that others were working in the same cause. He, without hesitation, agreed to come. He came and he spoke, and though he was then so young a speaker, yet the qualities of his speech were such as remained with him so long as he was able to speak at all—clearness, logic, a conversational eloquence, a persuasiveness which, when combined with the abstract truth there was in his eye and on his countenance, became a power it was almost impossible to resist.'

The account which the great orator has given of Cobden's appeal to him to join in the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws is singularly touching:—

'It was in September in the year 1841. The sufferings throughout the country were fearful; and you who live now, but were not of age to observe what was passing in the country then, can have no idea of the state of your country in that year. At that time I was at Leamington, and I was on the day when Mr. Cobden called upon me—for he happened to be there at the time on a visit to some relatives—I was in the depths of grief, I might almost say of despair, for the light and sunshine of my house had been extinguished. All that was left on earth of my young wife, except the memory of a sainted life and a too brief happiness, was lying stiff and cold in the chamber above us. Mr. Cobden called upon me as his friend, and addressed me, as you might suppose, with words of condolence. After a time he looked up, and said, "There are thousands of houses in England at this moment where wives, mothers, and children are dying of hunger. Now," he said, "when the first paroxysm of your grief is past, I would advise you to come with me, and we will never rest till the Corn Law is repealed." I accepted his invitation. I knew that the description he had given of the homes of thousands was not an exaggerated description. I felt in my very conscience that there was a work which somebody